



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-90-170  
Friday  
31 August 1990

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

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### CONTENTS

31 August 1990

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

#### INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

OAU Official Mapuranga Receives Kuwaiti Envoy <i>[Addis Ababa Radio]</i> .....	1
Kenyan Foreign Minister Addresses IGADD <i>[KNA]</i> .....	1

#### CENTRAL AFRICA

##### Burundi

CMSN Decrees Amnesty for Political Detainees <i>[Kigali Radio]</i> .....	2
--	---

##### Cameroon

Special Security Brigade Soon Operational <i>[PANA]</i> .....	2
* Proposed Measures To Extend Freedoms Outlined <i>[CAMEROON TRIBUNE 4 Jul]</i> .....	2

##### Chad

PRC Delegation Leaves at End of Working Visit <i>[Ndamena Radio]</i> .....	3
--	---

##### Zaire

* Transition Government Said To Reach Impasse <i>[LE PHARE 26 Jul]</i> .....	3
* MPR Seen as Victim of Its Past <i>[LE PHARE 15 Jul]</i> .....	3
* Law on Parties Termed 'Unconstitutional' <i>[LE PHARE 26 Jul]</i> .....	4

#### EAST AFRICA

##### Djibouti

Nation Condemns Iraqi Aggression of Kuwait <i>[AFP]</i> .....	7
Emissary Delivers Message <i>[Djibouti Radio]</i> .....	7

##### Ethiopia

Mengistu Meets Japanese Legislative Delegation <i>[Addis Ababa International]</i> .....	7
Independent Eritrea Said 'Matter of Months' <i>[Voice of Eritrean Broad Masses]</i> .....	7
Rebels Refute Paper Claiming Iraqi Support <i>[Voice of Eritrean Broad Masses]</i> .....	8
EPLF Repulses Government Counteroffensive <i>[Voice of Eritrean Broad Masses]</i> .....	8

##### Kenya

Vendors, Police Clash in Nairobi; One Dead <i>[Nairobi TV]</i> .....	9
* Bishop Okullu Mobbed, Harassed by KANU Youth <i>[DAILY NATION 23 Jul]</i> .....	9

##### Somalia

* Expatriate Opposition Leader on Historical Bases <i>[Paris AFRIQUE CONTEMPORAINE No. 2]</i> .....	10
--	----

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Foreign Minister on Iraq, Kuwait Situation [SAPA]	15
Reacts To Report on Participation [SAPA]	15
Government Invites PAC to Talks on Constitution [SAPA]	15
Invitation Confirmed [Johannesburg Radio]	16
Government Grants Temporary Indemnity to Hani [Johannesburg TV]	16
Vlok Addresses Party Congress on Police Role [SAPA]	16
Further Remarks [SAPA]	17
Finance Minister Warns on Unrest, Economy [SAPA]	17
Open City Application Complies With Areas Act [Johannesburg Radio]	18
Minister on Transvaal Rent, Services Funds [SAPA]	18
Louw on Educational Considerations in Future [Johannesburg Radio]	18
Justice Minister Comments on Prisoner Release [SAPA]	18
Zulus, Xhosas Declare Truce in Natal, Transvaal [SAPA]	19
DP Leader Challenges ANC on Nationalization [Johannesburg Radio]	19
ANC Spokesman On Talks With Inkatha, Violence [Johannesburg TV]	19
Hani To Head Team on End to Armed Struggle [SAPA]	20
Mandela To Appeal to Libyan Leader for Funds [SAPA]	20
Nation To Open Trade Mission in Mauritius [Johannesburg Radio]	20
Norway Declares Support for De Klerk's Reforms [Johannesburg Radio]	20
Zairean Minister 'Satisfied' With Visit To SA [Johannesburg International]	20
Soweto Rent Talks Achieve 'Breakthrough' [SAPA]	20
Agreement Signing 24 Sep [Umtata Radio]	21
Editor—No Sale to ANC of DAILY MAIL [SAPA]	21
31 Aug Press Review on Current Problems, Issues [THE STAR 31 Aug, etc.]	21
* Mac Maharaj Discusses SACP, ANC [FINANCIAL MAIL 27 Jul]	22
* AZAPO Paper Explains Land Policy [THE WEEKLY MAIL 3-5 Aug]	23
* Commentator Analyzes SACP's Future Role [THE WEEKLY MAIL 3-5 Aug]	24
* Albie Sachs Discusses Political Outlook [Lisbon EXPRESSO 28 Jul 90]	26

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Army Chief Denies Claims of Chemical Warfare [Luanda Radio]	32
Talks 'Not Encouraging'; Process 'Difficulties' [Voice of the Black Cockerel]	32
* Role of Churches in Nation's History Surveyed [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS 3 Aug]	33

Mauritius

* Opening SA Trade Mission Reconsidered [LE MAURICIEN 2 Aug]	37
* More on Commercial Legation [LE MAURICIEN 3 Aug]	37
* Concern Over Possible Oil Shortages Discussed [LE MAURICIEN 3 Aug]	38

Mozambique

Geingob Expresses Support for Peace Efforts [Maputo Radio]	39
* Crime Rate Rising Rapidly in Meconta [NOTICIAS 26 Jul]	39
* Nampula Cotton Production Below Quota [NOTICIAS 26 Jul]	39
* Agriculture Minister Discusses State Sector [NOTICIAS 27 Jul]	40
* Mauwa District Administrator on Emergency Needs [NOTICIAS 27 Jul]	41
* Nacala-Nichinga Railway Reopens [NOTICIAS 27 Jul]	41
* Nampula Displaced Persons, Emergency Statistics [NOTICIAS 26 Jul]	43

Namibia

Army Appointment Allegedly Divides Cabinet [TIMES OF NAMIBIA 27 Aug]	43
Ex-SADF Members Head Toward UNITA Bases [SAPA]	44
* Cabinet Approves Local Handling of Oil Fund [TIMES OF NAMIBIA 5 Jul]	44
* Misuse of Public Funds Alleged; Budget Delayed [TIMES OF NAMIBIA 2 Jul]	44

## WEST AFRICA

### The Gambia

Conference To Name Sawyer Liberian President [London International] .....	46
No Statement at end of Conference [PANA] .....	46

### Ghana

Rawlings Meets Envoys; Comments on Liberia [Accra Radio] .....	46
--	----

### Guinea

Government Denies Plans to Support Liberia's Doe [AFP] .....	47
--	----

### Ivory Coast

Riot Police Disperse Abidjan Demonstrators [AFP] .....	47
French Embassy Occupied; Calm Reported [AFP] .....	48
National, Burkinabe Role in Liberia Reported [AFP] .....	48
Paper Reviews 128 Days of Multiparty System [FRATERNITE MATIN 25-26 Aug] .....	49

### Liberia

INPFL's Johnson Urges Peace in Nation [PANA] .....	49
Makes Proposal on Interim Government [AFP] .....	50
Speaks With Reporters [Accra Radio] .....	50
ECOMOG Commander Evacuating West Africans [London International] .....	50
ECOWAS Names for 'Diplomatic Offensive' [PANA] .....	51
ECOWAS Troops Reportedly Capture Airport [AFP] .....	52
'About 200' West Africans Killed by NPFL [PANA] .....	52

### Mali

Iraqi Minister Meets Traore, Comments on Crisis [Bamako Radio] .....	52
--	----

### Nigeria

Chief of General Staff Named Vice President [Lagos Radio] .....	53
AFRC Names New Foreign, Defense Ministers [Lagos Radio] .....	53
Radio Views Outcome of Cabinet Reshuffle [Lagos Radio] .....	53
Government Warns on South Africa Sports Contacts [PANA] .....	54

### Senegal

* PIT Refuses Role in Municipal Elections [SUD HEBDO 5 Jul] .....	54
* Response to Casamance Movement Criticized .....	55
* PS 'Stirred Up' Separatists [SUD HEBDO 28 Jun] .....	55
* PS 'Inaccuracies' Noted [WAL FADJRI 22-28 Jun] .....	56
* PS, PDS Talks on Casamance Positive Sign [WAL FADJRI 22-28 Jun] .....	57
* Separatist Terror 'Alienates' Casamance Natives [WAL FADJRI 22-28 Jun] .....	58

### Sierra Leone

President Momoh Pledges Press Freedom [Freetown Radio] .....	59
--	----



**OAU Official Mapuranga Receives Kuwaiti Envoy**  
*EA3008171590 Addis Ababa Domestic Service  
in Amharic 0400 GMT 28 Aug 90*

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, Dr. M.P. Mapuranga, assistant secretary general of the OAU, received and held talks with the special envoy of Kuwaiti Amir Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, Ambassador 'Abd-al-Husayn al-Janin. Dr. Mapuranga stated that the OAU had condemned the illegal invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, and that it is making efforts to implement the UN Security Council's economic sanctions on Iraq. He went on to say that the OAU, as an international organization, will continue to condemn the forceful invasion of any country.

Ambassador al-Janin, for his part, stated that his present visit to Addis Ababa was made in order to bring the message of thanks of the amir of Kuwait, Shayk Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, to the OAU for the strong support it had given and its strong condemnation of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait at the UN. He also stated that he came to present a message of thanks from the Kuwaiti amir to President Mengistu Haile-Mariam for Ethiopia's clear and unrelenting stand as a member of the UN Security Council in condemning the Iraqi invasion and for expressing its willingness to help in the implementation of the UN economic sanctions imposed on Iraq.

**Kenyan Foreign Minister Addresses IGADD**  
*EA2908125290 Nairobi KNA in English 0800 GMT  
28 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] Nairobi, 28th August (KNA)—The minister for foreign affairs and international co-operation, Mr.

Wilson Ndolo Ayah, has urged countries to support each other's peace and reconciliation efforts. The minister was speaking last night during a dinner which he hosted at a Nairobi hotel in honour of foreign ministers from member countries of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development, IGADD.

The ministers were attending a two-day meeting which was officially opened yesterday by President Daniel arap Moi. The member countries of IGADD are Kenya, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda.

Mr. Ayah pointed out that with dedication and determination members of IGADD could achieve their objectives. He added that there was immense political goodwill existing now in Africa for peaceful settlement of internal and intra-state disputes. The minister further said that the presence in Kenya of foreign ministers from the other five African countries signified the warm and fraternal relations between Kenya and those countries.

The deputy prime minister of Uganda, who is also the minister for foreign and regional affairs, Dr. Paul Ssemogerere, replied to Mr. Ayah's speech. Dr. Ssemogerere thanked President Moi for his commitment in promoting peace in the region. The Ugandan minister termed peace as "a most essential commodity in Africa." He noted that more foreigners would be encouraged to visit various African countries and to invest there if peace prevailed. Dr. Ssemogerere said that peace would give hope and happiness, especially to mothers and children. He also said that peace would enable IGADD to realise its objectives. [passage omitted]

**Burundi****CMSN Decrees Amnesty for Political Detainees***EA3008172690 Kigali Domestic Service in French  
0430 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] In Burundi, the Military Committee for National Salvation [CMSN], the country's supreme organ, yesterday decreed an amnesty for all political detainees who were being prosecuted in the framework of the Ntega and Marangara [areas in northern Burundi] events in August 1988 and the foiled destabilization attempt of March 1989. Here are the details from Marie-Jose Niyonzima of Burundian radio and the correspondent of the Economic Community of the Countries of the Great Lakes, in Bujumbura.

[Niyonzima] In August 1988, the Burundian judicial authorities arrested a certain number of people who had been involved in the Ntega and Marangara events—bloody events which caused the deaths of about 5,000 people. In March 1989, the security services arrested some individuals who wanted to destabilize institutions of the Third Republic in Burundi.

Despite the guilt of the accused, the CMSN has decided to adopt a clemency measure in their favor in the framework of respect for human rights, and particularly in favor of the policy of unity and national reconciliation. This is therefore a way of breaking with the past once and for all in Burundi, a country where the running of state affairs used to be guided by petty sentiments of hatred and vengeance. This measure, which is being taken on the eve of the anniversary of the Third Republic in Burundi, to be celebrated on 3 September, aims at creating the very best conditions for a propitious climate for national reconciliation.

**Cameroon****Special Security Brigade Soon Operational***AB3008120690 Dakar PANA in English 1007 GMT  
30 Aug 90*

[Text] Yaounde, 30 Aug (CAMNEWS/PANA)—A special brigade, which was created on 9 August in Cameroon, will soon be operational all over the country, official sources in Yaounde said Wednesday [29 Aug].

The brigade, to be composed of the best police commissioners, officers and inspectors who are known for their competence, loyalty and moral integrity, will operate day and night in civilian attire.

Its mission will be to combat all forms delinquency and other actions infringing the rights and freedom of citizens.

Members of the brigade, who will soon undergo the required physical and technical training for their new assignment, will carry a special professional card and will operate in cars, buses or taxis.

**\* Proposed Measures To Extend Freedoms Outlined***90AF0591B Yaounde CAMEROON TRIBUNE  
in English 4 Jul 90 p 18*

[Text] In his general policy speech to delegates at the CPDM [Cameroon People's Democratic Movement] First Ordinary Congress, President Paul Biya, Head of State and Party Chairman decided to give a fresh liberal orientation which will bring more liberty to the citizens of this country. We survey the main points of the historic speech and what concrete results these will bring.

**Press Freedom****Present Situation**

The governing law on the press in Cameroon dates back to 1966. Although certain modifications were made in the 1980s these failed to tone down the repressive character of the 1966 law. However since 1982, progress has been made to allow freedom of press in Cameroon. No wonder the arrival of a multitude of publications. But the country still has only one daily paper. This arises from the fact that the Ministry of Territorial administration has to:

1. Authorise the creation of newspapers,
2. Censor all articles before publication,
3. Can ban or seize papers.

**New Perspective**

After President Paul Biya's general policy speech to the CPDM Congress last Thursday, Freedom of Press will be enhanced after the abolition of censorship, requirement to obtain authorisation to publish and the new modalities for bannings and seizures.

**Exceptional Legislation****Present Situation**

The three main laws of exceptional dimension currently in force are:

1. The 1962 ordinance on subversion;
2. The 1972 ordinance on banditry;
3. The state of emergency laws.

**New Perspective**

President Paul Biya has decided to abolish exceptional legislation. This will mean that the above mentioned laws will no longer exist in a free and democratic Cameroon. When the ordinance of subversion goes away, no citizen will be afraid to express his opinions for fear of breaking this law.

This is the most revolutionary of all the decisions which President Paul Biya took during his speech before the delegates to the first CPDM Congress. The new Cameroon will no doubt be a state where the Rule of law is upheld.

## Freedom of Association

### Present Situation

The Ministry of Territorial Administration controls and scrutinizes all requests from citizens who wish to harness their knowledge and energies in any type of association. A long list of documents is required to meet the conditions set out.

### New Perspective

President Paul Biya's general policy speech talks of a revision of this law. The intention of this revision is to give more liberty to the citizens. This could open up our society for the citizens to freely create all types of associations without fear of persecution.

## Free Movement of People

### Present Situation

All Cameroonians wishing to leave the national triangle are required to seek and obtain a visa from the police—that is a permission from the authorities. This situation infringes on the constitutional right of freedom of movement.

### New Perspective

By announcing the uplifting of this restrictive practice, President Biya plans to abolish the citizens who wish to enjoy the present day "global village."

## Chad

### PRC Delegation Leaves at End of Working Visit

AB3008145590 Ndjamenas Domestic Service in French  
2130 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] This morning the Chinese delegation which has been visiting our country for nearly a week left Ndjamenas for China after a very fruitful visit. A program for implementing a cultural agreement between Chad and China was signed, and Minister [as heard] Chen Changben, leader of the delegation, contacted the heads of ministerial departments. He met with Mr. Djibrine Hissein Greinky, minister of culture, youth, and sports; Assileck Halata, minister of national education; and Mr. Adoum Moussa Seif, minister of information and civic orientation.

During his meeting with the information minister, Chen Changben and Adoum Moussa exchanged their experiences in radio and television matters. The Chinese culture minister stressed that China is highly advanced in these fields and uses its experience to help develop the relatively young Chadian radio and television in Chad. Minister Chen Changben and his delegation expressed their great satisfaction with the warm reception given them during their visit to Chad.

## Zaire

### \* Transition Government Said To Reach Impasse

90AF0523C Kinshasa LE PHARE in French 26 Jul p 2

[Article: "Government Still in Intensive Care"]

[Text] The transitional government finds itself in a difficult position. With no resources, shunned by all, with its good will alone, it must face an explosive social situation and attempt to gain the people's confidence at a time when the people are increasingly overcome by doubt.

Contrary to previous governments, which could use and abuse arguments such as "subversion, counter-revolution, etc." to intimidate citizens, the transition government can rely only on the people's spirit of conciliation to have its message go through. But how should it do when the people, now aware of their rights, feel that the government does not fulfill its share of the contract that binds it to the people? How should it do it when the people do not recognize themselves in the government's efforts?

By going on strike most unexpectedly, government employees probably wanted to reassert their distrust, which is still hard to assess fully. And by remaining on strike for over three weeks, they wanted to remind everyone, and especially the government, that they, the neglected ones, constitute the very foundation of the state, insofar as there is no state without administration.

To get out of the intensive care unit where successive strikes have put it, the government finally changed its method and is now engaging in a dialogue. Negotiations with government employees are going on and, at the same time, efforts are made to prevent a failure of the school system at the start of the 1990-91 school year.

But the real issue is that of the absence of a wage policy worthy of that name, a policy that would consider the necessity for citizens to have a decent life and bring up their children like loved ones.

During a recent interview on the RTBP program "Taking Stock of the Situation," Maitre Nimy mentioned that there were over 1,000 university-level Zairian job seekers who would be prepared to relieve the Belgian cooperation agents sent back home. What the special adviser to the chief of state could not say is that these job seekers are not going to rush to the employment agency to get jobs in the most remote corners of the country because the salaries offered are too low. There lies the whole problem.

### \* MPR Seen as Victim of Its Past

90AF0523B Kinshasa LE PHARE in French 15 Jul p 2

[Article signed L.P.: "MPR [People's Movement of the Revolution] Wrestling With its Own Shadow"]

[Text] The MPR is operating as usual. From the Party-State period, the MPR inherited men and structures. The men are those who used to lead the party and state

during the 23 years of the MPR's existence; the structures are those that used to belong to the state, but without the state now, at least in theory.

The day after President Mobutu left, the MPR chose another leader: Mr. Singa Uduu, former minister of interior, former minister delegate to the presidency, former chief state commissioner, former first vice president of the Central Committee Bureau, former president of the Judiciary Council, former permanent secretary of the MPR Political Bureau.

Mr. Singa is assisted by all the big shots, even though they do not always speak kindly of him behind his back. The officers of the Territorial Army have all been required to help the MPR. In Kinshasa, for instance, there have been meetings with zone commissioners, who have been told to continue to act as presidents of the party's grassroots committees.

Apart from these acrobatics, it may be useful to point out that MPR officials did not draw the real lessons from the elections organized during the first quarter of this year.

What is it that was denounced during these elections? We all know the answer: "the MPR system."

In all regions of the country, the people denounced corruption, nepotism, patronage, the confiscation of national wealth by party officials, etc. Oddly enough, these very officials who were thus rejected on all our 2,500 km<sup>2</sup> area are the ones whom the MPR is sending again to the front, as if to tell the people: "We don't care what you think."

What are the results of all this? It is the rout of certain big shots who are now attempting to form other parties in order to acquire a measure of political virginity. It is also the incapability to confront the major problems that affect the country. And, finally, it is guilty silence in front of the sad events of Lumumbashi, to which all political trends reacted, except the MPR.

To put it plainly, the MPR cannot get rid of its shadow. It still considers itself involved in state administration and bound by the government's efforts. This attitude can be understood, from a certain point of view, to the extent that those who are now governing were appointed in the pure style of the Second Republic and display their MPR badges on every occasion. This, therefore, is where the MPR's problem lies: how can it repudiate its own members and how can it act without receiving orders?

This dilemma may not be solved until we have a transitional government resulting from a consultation among parties, not from an imperial fiat, to use a fashionable phrase.

Meanwhile, however, the gap between the people and the MPR may widen. All the more so as, even if objectives are straightened out, the officials who will go to the people were all handed a pink slip at the polls. Let those who might have doubts read again carefully the speech made by the president of the Republic on 24 April 1990. They will be enlightened and may perhaps call for an intensification of

the struggle against that ever-present shadow of the past that no one, unfortunately, is about to forget.

#### \* Law on Parties Termed 'Unconstitutional'

90AF0523A Kinshasa LE PHARE in French  
26 Jul pp 3, 11, 23

[Commentary and text of law on parties: "Political Parties 'Under House Arrest'; The Law on Parties Is Unconstitutional and Null in Law"]

[Text] On Saturday 14 July, the National Assembly adopted the law that will govern the organization and operation of political parties in our country. This law, intended to shed a dynamic light on the new Zairian political landscape, is now considered to be a major source of confusion. According to many analysts, "it is a legal trap" because its whole content is designed to hinder the development of parties and that of the democratization process.

The limitation of the number of parties is an issue about which much has already been written. While it is true that the main idea of the initiator of the democratization process was to prevent anarchy, it is equally true that for Zaire to achieve effectively a more relaxed political life the entire national community must be allowed free speech. When they imposed the dissolution of political groups after the primary elections held to choose the three parties that will remain in competition, the deputies did not adequately weigh the risk of reducing a considerable fringe of the population to expressing itself clandestinely. They did not take into account that you can never kill ideas simply by refusing a fair confrontation within the framework of institutions.

At the start, the law on party organization and operation was to set the conditions of party financing. After meeting with fierce opposition from a majority of the deputies, this option was cancelled; instead, the Honorable Members oddly enough imposed payment of a security of 5 million zaires for which there is no justification, except that it will discourage all those who wish to join together to express free and independent opinions on how the country is run, as is their right under the constitution. When it imposed this security, Parliament violated the very principle of the right of association, and made this violation worse by limiting the number of parties. By further granting exorbitant powers to the minister of interior, the National Assembly intended to reduce the margin of freedom reserved for political parties, thus subjecting them to conditions that amount to "house arrest."

Moreover, one may rightfully ask whether the current democratization also applies to the Nord and Sud-Kivu regions. As is known, serious nationality problems have prevented the organization of municipal elections in these two regions. Considering that the primaries designed to select parties are scheduled for next January, can we believe, as does the National Assembly, that census questions will be settled in time to enable the citizens residing in these two regions to get rightfully



involved in the battle for political pluralism? If certain processes, the census for instance, are botched up, isn't there the risk that disputes will arise and lead to renewed tension in the political life of these two regions?

In Article 16 of the law submitted to the president's approval, the National Assembly also prohibits political parties from receiving direct or indirect subsidies, contributions or material aids from a foreign state or a foreign individual or entity domiciled in Zaire or abroad.

Although this provision was motivated by the desire to prevent foreigners from influencing the country's political life, we would like to ask how and through what means such financing can be controlled? In advanced democracies, where control mechanisms offer a certain reliability, we have seen how difficult it is to control the financing of political parties, the most conservative of which received a lot of money from African dictators until the advent of perestroika. How could Zaire, less well equipped in this respect, manage to succeed where the others have failed?

The real objective of this provision is to maintain some pressure on the parties, to stress the "under house arrest" side, which will be implemented by the minister of interior.

We are publishing below the entire text of the law on the organization and operation of political parties, as adopted by the National Assembly and submitted for approval to the President of the Republic.

#### [Text of Law on Political Parties]

The National Assembly has adopted and the President of the Republic promulgates the law the text of which follows:

#### Chapter I: General Provisions

**Article 1:** Political parties shall be created and organized and shall exert their activities freely in compliance with the constitution and the laws of the Republic.

No more than three political parties shall be created.

They shall be governed by the provisions of this Law.

**Article 2:** For the purpose of this Law:

- a) a political group means a private association of Zairian citizens rallying around a common ideology and political program and aspiring to become a political party, but not endowed with legal status;
- b) a political party means a private association endowed with legal status, consisting of Zairian citizens rallying around a common ideology and political program in order to obtain power and exercise it in a democratic manner.

**Article 3:** Political groups and political parties shall not identify with a race, ethnic group, religion, sex, sect, language or region, nor shall they institute any other form of discrimination whatsoever.

**Article 4:** Any Zairian citizen of voting age may join a political group or party.

He shall be allowed to do so freely, as an individual. Members of the armed forces, police and security services, civil servants and government employees, public administration employees and magistrates shall not join any political group or party.

#### Chapter II: Organization of Political Parties

**Article 5:** Any political group achieving the necessary rank in the elections organized to that effect throughout the national territory shall be recognized as a political party.

To be a candidate in said elections, a political group shall have to be registered by a commission, the composition and organization of which shall be determined by an order of the President of the Republic based on a proposal of the minister in charge of Territory Administration.

**Article 6:** The decree granting legal status shall be notified to the political party by the minister or his delegate within 15 days after said decree is signed.

**Article 7:** An order of the President of the Republic, based on a proposal of the minister in charge of Territory Administration, shall determine the conditions of organization of the elections provided for under this Law.

**Article 8:** The application for registration shall be filed with the minister in charge of Territory Administration, and a receipt shall be delivered to the applicant.

The application for registration shall be subject to the payment, against receipt, of a nonrefundable security of 5 million zaires to the Treasury.

**Article 9:** The following shall be appended to the application for registration:

- a) five copies of the articles of association, notarized and duly signed by the members of the management committee of the political group, and five copies of the minutes of the group's constituent assembly meeting;
- b) a statement signed by the members of the management committee of the political group, stating their full names and certifying that at least three-fourths of them were not born in the same region;
- c) certificates of good character, and copies of police records or certificates testifying to the absence of police records, in order to establish the honorability of the members of the management committee of the political group;
- d) a statement concerning the financial resources expected by the political group in order to achieve its objectives;
- e) a document listing the officials of the political group in all regional seats, stating their full names. This document must be certified by the Prosecution Department of the High Court of their domicile;
- f) the receipt showing that the security has been paid;
- g) a certificate of residence delivered by the zone.

**Article 10:** The articles of association shall indicate, among other things:

- a) the name of the political group;
- b) the headquarters of the political group, which shall be on the territory of the Republic;



- c) a commitment to respect the constitution and laws of the Republic as well as the principles of democracy, national sovereignty and unity, and law and order;
- d) the fundamental principles that will serve as a basis for any program the political group intends to promote;
- e) the various membership categories;
- f) the conditions under which members may join, leave and be excluded from the party;
- g) how the management of the political group is organized, in particular how the individuals responsible for the management and administration of the group are appointed and dismissed, for how long they may serve, the extent of their powers and who shall represent the political group with respect to third parties;
- h) how annual financial statements are drawn up;
- i) the rules according to which the articles of association may be modified or the political group dissolved;
- j) the allocation of the political group's assets should it be dissolved.

**Article 11:** The articles of association of a political party shall become effective as far as third parties are concerned only after they have been published in the JOURNAL OFFICIEL of the Republic of Zaire.

They shall be published within three months.

**Article 12:** No political party shall take the name of another party that has already been approved under Article 6 of this Law.

Moreover, no political party shall use for its own propaganda titles or names already used by another political party.

### Chapter III: Operation of Political Parties

**Article 13:** A political party may own or otherwise possess the real property it needs for its operation. It shall report such property to the minister in charge of Territory Administration.

Any acquisition or transfer of real property, and any transaction giving the use or possession of such property shall be reported in writing to the minister in charge of Territory Administration, within three months from the date of the instrument that shall make them effective. The acquisition or transfer price shall be indicated in the statement.

The acceptance of any donation inter vivos or legacy made to the benefit of the political party shall be reported to the minister in charge of Territory Administration.

**Article 14:** Every political party shall have the obligation:

- a) to report immediately any modification of its articles of association. The minister in charge of Territory Administration shall reject any modification that does not comply with the provisions of this Law;
- b) to report to the minister in charge of Territory Administration, every year and no later than 15 days after the anniversary of the political party's recognition: the names, occupations and domiciles of all those who are responsible for the party management, in any capacity whatsoever;

- c) to file a financial statement for the past year with the minister in charge of Territory Administration, every year and no later than 31 March.

This statement shall show that the political party does not have other resources than those coming from membership dues, donations, and legacies from its Zairian members and sympathizers, transactions involving movable or real property, and receipts from events organized by the party.

### Chapter IV: Resources of Political Parties

**Article 15:** Political parties shall derive their resources from:

- a) membership dues and contributions paid by their Zairian members and sympathizers;
- b) donations and legacies from their Zairian members and sympathizers;
- c) receipts from events organized by the parties and from party publications;
- d) transactions involving movable or real property.

**Article 16:** No party shall receive direct or indirect subsidies, contributions or material aids from a foreign state, or a foreign individual or entity domiciled in Zaire or abroad.

### Chapter V: Dissolution of Political Groups and Parties

**Article 17:** A political group or party shall be dissolved only when:

- said political group or party decides to do so in accordance with its articles of association;
- said political group or party violates the constitution or the provisions of this Law.

In that case, the dissolution shall be pronounced by the Supreme Court of Justice.

**Article 18:** A political group shall be dissolved by right if it does not achieve the necessary rank in the elections provided for under Article 5 of this Law.

### Chapter VI: Penalties

**Article 19:** In addition to the penalties provided for in Articles 18 and 24 of the Edict of 18 September 1965 on nonprofit organizations, and in Articles 17, 18, and 19 mentioned above, any violation of the provisions of this Law shall be punished by a fine of at least 500,000 and up to 1 million zaires.

### Chapter VII: Transitional and Final Provisions

**Article 20:** Political groups shall have three months from the promulgation of this Law to file their registration applications with the minister in charge of Territory Administration. Fifteen days after the expiration of this period, the minister in charge of Territory Administration shall publish the list of the political groups recognized.

**Article 21:** This Law shall come into effect on the date of its promulgation.

**The President of the Republic  
Mobutu Sese Seko, Marshall**

## Djibouti

### Nation Condemns Iraqi Aggression of Kuwait

AB3008135290 Paris AFP in French 1558 GMT  
28 Aug 90

[Text] Djibouti, 28 Aug (AFP)—Djibouti "condemns the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq" and endorses the Arab League and United Nations' resolutions concerning the Gulf crisis, this was stated today by the Djibouti prime minister, Mr. Barkat Gourad Hamadou. Mr. Hamadou, who is acting for President Hassan Gouled Aptidon currently on a private visit abroad, added that Djibouti will not, however, break all its relations with Baghdad. He expressed hope that the Gulf crisis would not degenerate into an armed conflict and that it would be resolved through diplomatic channels.

Relations between Djibouti and Iraq have been close so far. Several high level exchanges took place last year between the two countries which are linked by a cooperation agreement. Last May Iraq delivered five rapid coastal patrol boats to Djibouti.

### Emissary Delivers Message

EA3008064090 Djibouti Domestic Service in Somali  
1700 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Mr. Barkat Gourad Hamadou, the Djibouti Republic prime minister and the acting chairman of the council of ministers, today received at his office Mr. Muhammad Nasir al-Hamdan, the Kuwait minister of awqaf and Islamic affairs.

The minister, who yesterday arrived from Mogadishu, Somalia, is carrying a message for the president of the Djibouti Republic from the Amir of Kuwait, Shaykh al-Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah. [passage omitted]

The minister of Kuwait is expected to depart today for Saudi Arabia.

## Ethiopia

### Mengistu Meets Japanese Legislative Delegation

EA3008133190 Addis Ababa in Amharic  
to Neighboring Countries 1600 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] A Japanese delegation led by the Japanese parliamentarian, Mr. (Sokoto Sukira), today told Comrade President Mengistu Haile-Mariam that Japan was willing to strengthen relations and engage in economic cooperation with Ethiopia, which is endowed with an ancient history and natural resources.

In a ceremony held at the State Council, during which Comrade President Mengistu met and held talks with it, the head of the delegation, said that the relations between the peoples of Ethiopia and Japan were longstanding and based on mutual interest. He went on to say that Ethiopia was endowed with an enormous amount of

natural resources and, in addition to Japan's great regard for Ethiopia, it was willing to engage in the necessary cooperation in the economic sector, thereby strengthening the mutual interest of the two countries.

Mr. (Sukira) noted that the delegation's mission was to assess joint development projects in Africa initiated through Japanese cooperation. He noted that the delegation was able to see that the appropriate activity was under way in Ethiopia towards this end.

For his part, Comrade President Mengistu said that the Japanese people were regarded highly by Ethiopians for their hard work and their prestigious character of giving priority to work and he noted that, given Ethiopia's firm stance on engaging in peaceful development cooperation with other nations so as to enhance her economic development, Ethiopia was willing to undertake bilateral cooperation and to learn from Japan.

Present during the ceremony were Comrade Fasil Nahom, head of the Legal and Foreign Relations Affairs Department in the State Council with the rank of minister, and Mr. Chuichi Ito, the Japanese ambassador to Ethiopia.

### Independent Eritrea Said 'Matter of Months'

EA3008131590 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad  
Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Comrade Isaias Afewerki, secretary general of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF], has said that the Dergue has not been able to change the military balance in any way. The offensives it has been launching since the capture of Mitsiwa are over. From now onwards until the last of the fighting, the war will be continued for our (?benefit) and we will have the upper hand. We have dependable military plans which will be implemented with (?steadiness) to inflict final defeat on the Dergue troops, which are trapped. He made these statements when answering questions sent by listeners to the Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea on the occasion of September 1990, marking of the 29th year of the armed struggle waged by the Eritrean people.

The EPLF secretary general reaffirmed that Eritrean independence of Eritrea is a matter of months. He noted that we do not foresee any unexpected problems. However, since we make (?provision) for everything, even if they do arise we are confident that we will contain them in the shortest time possible.

Comrade Isaias continued by saying that after the EPLF has attained total military victory, we will call for a referendum to be held in Eritrea so that the interests of the Eritrean people may be confirmed through international law and before the international community and a lasting and peaceful end to the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia may be secured.

With regard to peace, he pointed out that the call made to the United Nations to conduct a referendum in Eritrea is receiving acceptance in various quarters. He

added that if the Dergue accepts this or proposes an alternative, the peace process will continue. We have not rejected a peaceful solution, he said. When the Dergue took months and refused to accept the participation of the United Nations, we promoted the (?paper) which we had prepared for presentation in the main talks and thus pushed forward the process. Since we have presented our stance to the and organisations, there is no hindrance from our side. In our view, the peaceful solution is in a much better situation than before.

The EPLF secretary general likewise gave a detailed statement on the issue of the World Food Program [WFP], which has been much talked about. He explained that the reason the mission of the WFP failed was because of the (?hindrances) placed by the Dergue behind the scenes. He said that the EPLF has been involved in continuing talks with the organization and other concerned quarters. He noted that we are making efforts so that the technical team may come to Mitsiwa in the shortest possible time to view the port, to see relief aid delivered, and the problems of our people and of northern Ethiopia alleviated. The situation at which we have arrived looks favorable, he added.

Comrade Isaias, in his answers which covered all topical and relevant issues, said that the EPLF is looking beyond the armed struggle and is conducting studies and preparatory works in connection with the political and economic system to be established in independent Eritrea.

Answering a question on whether he thought that independent Eritrea, like many Third World countries, would be affected by economic (?crisis), he said that by pursuing a correct economic policy, eliminating corruption, waste, and nepotism, encouraging the skills of all citizens and properly utilizing the foreign [words indistinct], Eritrea could secure sound living conditions for its people.

In conclusion, with regard to foreign policy, Comrade Isaias Afeworki confirmed that Eritrea believes in the existence of bilateral economic, security, and other issues which link it with its neighbors, including Ethiopia, and will make efforts so that these issues may be (?implemented) in such a way as will serve the mutual benefit of the peoples of the region.

### Rebels Refute Paper Claiming Iraqi Support

EA3008134190 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 0638 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Station commentary: "The Dergue in a Shameful Lie and Scandal"]

[Text] The Dergue government, currently in the middle of a nightmare about its downfall, has plunged itself, more than ever before, into a shameful lie and scandal. A few days ago the Dergue security section distributed a baseless paper in Sweden in the name of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF]. To make it look like a genuine EPLF paper, the Dergue put a seal on it and distributed it without

indicating its place of origin. Claiming that it was distributed overseas, the Dergue published it in its papers and announced it on its TV and radio.

The following is the content of the false document the Dergue distributed claiming that it was an EPLF statement:

Regarding the Persian Gulf crisis, the EPLF supports the Iraqi stand and action. In the war waged by Iraq on the superpowers, the EPLF believes that the downfall of the Western world is approaching. The EPLF gives a high degree of consideration to the huge military, technical, and financial support it receives from Iraq. This Iraqi support was decisive in the capture of Mitsiwa. The EPLF's (?failure) to capture Aseb the way it did Mitsiwa is due to Israeli support for the Dergue government.

For anyone who knows and is acquainted to a fair degree with the EPLF's language and line of thinking, it is clear that this is not the EPLF's wording. Given that the EPLF, since its inception, has never said that external military support was decisive for its military victories and—through its radio magazines, its officials, and its offices—has been stating that it has no arab support, who will believe the alleged statement made in Sweden to the effect that the EPLF claimed that it gets huge support from Iraq? As diplomats in Addis Ababa have stated, this is a defamatory intrigue against the EPLF by the Dergue. If it is not for this purpose, we might ask: Since when has the Dergue been putting out EPLF statements through its mass media? By doing this the Dergue spy network, its security section, has not succeeded in the aims behind its campaign of lies and (?destabilization). The lessons the East Germans taught it for more than 10 years have not helped it in the slightest this time. The intrigue was cheap, its attempt at fabrication unprofessional, or even worse, a childish game. Why all this scandal? Why did it engage in this disgraceful and degrading activity?

It is clear that the objective of the Dergue here was to obtain the support of the Western world in general and that of Israel in particular. It is trying to tell them: The EPLF is your opponent, while I am your dear and trusted follower. But they have no need of the Dergue's piece of paper to know about the EPLF. Today, the EPLF maintains wide international relations and is an actor in the international arena. Those whom the Dergue is trying to please know very well the EPLF's line of thinking and activity, its language, and its source of support. Therefore, what the Dergue has done in trying to fool the whole world shows only too clearly the degree to which it underestimates the intelligence of its own people and the international community. The Dergue has here exposed itself and its political weakness. It has shown that all its abilities have been exhausted. It cannot be blamed: A drowning man thinks that a straw can save his life.

### EPLF Repulses Government Counteroffensive

EA3008140790 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 0630 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Excerpt] The heroic Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] has repulsed a Dergue counteroffensive at (Adi



Roso) and Ginda and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. During the last three days the Dergue has sent four battalions in a counteroffensive on the [word indistinct] along the (Marhabar) River and on the Ginda front on the right side of the road, and tried to link them up with the attempts it made to regain the ground lost on the Dekemhare front, thereby attempting to overpower the EPLF.

This attempt was repulsed by our combatants: They killed more than 200 soldiers, injured 250, captured 150 light weapons and forced the Dergue army to retreat. [passage omitted]

### Kenya

#### Vendors, Police Clash in Nairobi; One Dead

AB3008204690 Nairobi KTN Television Service  
in English 1800 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Several people were injured in a battle between street vendors and police in Gikomba [in central Nairobi] today. A report that one person died could not be immediately confirmed. The fracas, which was sparked off by city commission askaris [constables] attempt at eviction of hawkers from Gikomba market and escalated into running battles in surrounding areas, leaving one man, allegedly a looter, dead. [sentence as heard] KTN captured some of the action later in the morning:

[Begin Kathleen Openda video recording] The now age-old battle between the city inspector personnel and hawkers was sparked off once more today when city askaris, according to eyewitnesses, moved in as early as 4:00 a.m, attempting to evict street traders from their trading spot in Gikomba. Later in the morning, trouble broke out, mainly along Racecourse Road and Ronald Ngala Street. Shops remained closed as attempts were made at blocking off Ronald Ngala street with anything, especially city commission dust carts, under the watchful eye of the police brought in to control the situation. At the Racecourse Road-Ronald Ngala Street junction, pockets of the public hurled stones at passing vehicles, especially [parastatal-run] Nyayo buses, and barred others from driving down the road while crowds watched from a safe distance. Several buses and cars had their windscreens and windows damaged.

As the situation grew increasingly unruly, the riot police arrived and effectively dispersed the agitated crowds using teargas. Later, people went about their business as usual. Highly-placed sources at the commission told KTN that the situation was now contained. One wonders what this simmering hotbed will produce next. Kathleen Openda for KTN, Racecourse Road, Nairobi. [video shows people throwing stones, police shielding themselves and deploying tear-gas] [end recording]

#### \* Bishop Okullu Mobbed, Harassed by KANU Youth

90AF0545A Nairobi DAILY NATION in English  
23 Jul 90 pp 1-2

[Article by George Kiaye: "Mob Leaves Okullu Shaken at Church"]

[Text] About 40 KANU [Kenya African National Union] youthwingers armed with whips and sticks yesterday mobbed outspoken Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu threatening to arrest him over his campaign for political reform.

The shaken and bewildered Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK) prelate had just concluded a sermon at 1.30 pm when the mob besieged him on the steps of a church at Rae CPK parish in Kisumu District.

They demanded to know the nature of the sermon he had just delivered and why he had been advocating political pluralism.

The party youth wingers forced the bishop to shake hands with them. Then their leader told him: "We know you have been talking about multi-parties and if that was the case, then we are arresting you."

Perplexed, the bishop assured the group that his sermon had nothing to do with pluralism.

"I am sure all of you were in the church and heard all that I preached. What are you up to?", asked Bishop Okullu.

The youth wingers accused the bishop of inciting people against the Government through his sermons.

The clergyman, an outspoken government critic, was eventually rescued by the vicar of Rae Parish, the Reverend Andrew Odhiambo, and the church's chaplain, the Rev Francis Mwai. Both men pushed the wingers aside to allow Bishop Okullu an escape route.

Earlier, the bishop's proposed lecture to students of the Rae Girls' High School had been cancelled by the administration for lack of a permit.

A letter from the Kisumu District Commissioner's office cancelling the lecture was delivered to the bishop through his wife.

The girls' school headmistress was threatened with stern action if she allowed the bishop to conduct the lecture.

Later, speaking to the *Nation* on the telephone from his residence, Bishop Okullu described the wingers' action as "most unfortunate and unnecessary".

"I pray we do not go on doing such things in a country like Kenya", he said.

"I still cannot gather my mind together after the ugly episode," the shaken bishop said.

"I was scaring [as published] and everybody was confused."

The bishop later cancelled all his other engagements at the church.

### Somalia

#### \* Expatriate Opposition Leader on Historical Bases

90AF0394A Paris AFRIQUE CONTEMPORAINE  
in French Vol. 154 No. 2, 1990 pp 54-59

[Interview with opposition leader Mohamed Said Samantar by Ahmed Dehli, in Paris in March 1990; first six paragraphs are AFRIQUE CONTEMPORAINE introduction; footnotes shown as published]

[Text] Mohamed Said Samantar was born in Wardere in the Ogaden. While very young, he participated in the fight for his country's independence. In 1949 he joined the Somali Youth League, a movement opposing the British occupation. After attending normal school, he became an elementary teacher, then worked for Radio Mogadishu and, in 1958, went to Rome, where he was placed in charge of RAI (Italian Radio Broadcasting and Television Company) broadcasts to Africa. While in Rome, he studied political science at the university level.

In 1960, M.S. Samantar joined the Somali Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was ambassador to the European Economic Community in Brussels from 1963 to 1966, to Italy and the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] in Rome from 1969 to 1973, and to the French Government in Paris from 1974 to 1979.

He was appointed minister of state at the presidency in Mogadishu in 1979 and placed in charge of relations with the Western powers in a particularly touchy regional and international context involving the commitment of the USSR and Cuba on behalf of Ethiopia.

In 1980, M.S. Samantar headed the Somali delegation visiting Washington to discuss an agreement with the United States. The agreement as signed was unfavorable to Somalia, and that fact led the fervent nationalist to resign from Siad Barre's government. His resignation took effect in 1982.

Since that time, M.S. Samantar has lived in Paris, where he campaigns for coordination of the various movements opposing the Mogadishu government.

In this interview, which took place in March 1990, Mohamed Said Samantar explains the problems currently facing Somalia and discusses the prospects for change that might help solve those problems.

[Dehli] Can you refresh our memories concerning the conditions surrounding the birth of Somali national feeling?

[Samantar] Somali national feeling arose during the bitter struggles that the Somali have carried on against various colonialist forces since the 14th century. But it was in 1888 that our nationalism really came into being. That was when the entire people rose up to confront British, Italian, and

French troops. The country's ancient and recent history consists in fact of a struggle against every kind of domination: Arab, Persian, European, and so on.

[Delhi] Considering that Somalia has no mineral resources, why is it still important geopolitically?

[Samantar] Somalia does not have mineral wealth, but it occupies a geopolitical position between the Bab al-Mandab, the Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean (see the following map [not included]) that is very sensitive as far as both the West and the East are concerned. That was why the country was divided up by the British, French, and Italians in 1896. Today, destabilization is continuing within the particularly touchy context of the Horn of Africa.

[Delhi] Some sociologists say that Somalia's current situation is explained by the fact that each clan group is struggling to safeguard its own distinctive features.

[Samantar] I defy anyone to prove scientifically that there is any sociocultural diversity whatever among the various families making up Somali society. Permit me to add that Somalia is the only African nation consisting of a single ethnic group speaking a single language. Even during the colonial period, when people talked about British, French, or Italian Somaliland, the ethnocultural unity was very real. It was even used to surmount the many internal and external barriers and to face up to the various local and international challenges.

[Delhi] You have just told us that Somalia as an African nation has its own specific nature. So why did it join the Arab League in 1974?

[Samantar] For centuries and centuries, we have had close cultural, economic, and spiritual ties to the Arabian Peninsula. It was in the 13th century that our ties to the rest of the Arab world were strengthened. In the years following independence (1960), Somalia tried to overcome a degree of isolation.

[Delhi] Some African countries have had trouble accepting your membership in the Arab League. How do you account for that fact?

[Samantar] The destiny of an independent country and the future of a sovereign people are never determined by the reactions of other countries. Being jealously attached to our African character, we are Somali first of all and then members of the Arab League.

[Delhi] Do you think that the Arab governments will be content with your membership in their league and that they will not try to carry out very rapidly a policy for the Arabization of Somalia to the detriment of its historical and cultural identity?

[Samantar] You are completely right to ask that question. I would like to tell you that by deciding in 1972 to transcribe our language using the Roman alphabet, we were already taking a not insignificant step toward protecting ourselves from that attempt at Arabization.



This problem will certainly arise in the near future. At any rate, if the Arab world ever tried to make us submit to its policy, Somalia would turn its back on the Arab League for good.

[Delhi] Can you tell us why?

[Samantar] Under no circumstances would I want to replace my Somali national identity with an Arab or any other identity. Incidentally, certain Somali writers have sensed the danger and expressed their hostility to Arabization, sometimes in terms that are a little hard on the Arabs.

[Delhi] If you don't mind, let us go on to Somalia's internal problems. General Mohamed Siad Barre celebrated the 20th anniversary of his accession to power on 21 October 1989. What is the result of those 20 years of unshared power?

[Samantar] Very often in Africa, those rebelling against a government will heap blame on it for anything and everything at the risk of creating total confusion between political discourse and the daily reality being experienced by the population. That is why I will tell you that in October 1969, there was a radical political change in Somalia as a result of the assumption of power by the Somali Armed Forces, which were the symbol of national pride and the only hope the Somalis had for getting out of the impasse they were in. From 1969 to 1976, just before the establishment of the single party—the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP), which is Marxist-Leninist—the country experienced tremendous progress in all areas—so much so that Somalia had become self-sufficient in every respect and the Somali experience was being pointed to as a model in Third World countries. I remember that several observers and researchers came from the African continent, Latin America, and even Portugal to study our political experience, which was characterized by, among other things, a literacy campaign, a volunteer service, equality between men and women, the near elimination of corruption and the clan spirit, and so on.

[Delhi] Would you explain to us the reasons behind the political change that occurred in Somalia in October 1969?

[Samantar] To better understand the politico-historical context in which the coup d'état of 1969 took place, we must take a quick look back at history. Great Britain had promised the Somali Government in 1961 that it would grant the right of self-determination to the Somali living in the Somalia Northern Frontier District [SNFD], provided that Somalia rejoined the Commonwealth. But at the time, Italian Prime Minister Antonio Segni, Somali President Adam Adadalla Osman, and the Italianized Somali intellectual class were doing everything they could to keep Somalia an Italian-speaking country. That was why the 1963 conference in Rome between Kenya and Somalia, with the participation of Italy and Great Britain, for the purpose of deciding the future of the SNFD ended in failure. Two weeks later, the minister of British colonies, Duncan Sandys, declared unilaterally that effective on a given date, the SNFD would be

Kenya's seventh province despite the will of the local inhabitants, who, during the referendum held in 1962 under the auspices of British, Nigerian, and Canadian jurists, had voted by a near majority [as published] (86.7 percent) to join Somalia.

In 1967, during the Arusha conference in Tanzania, which was attended by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta, and Somali Prime Minister Mohamed Ibrahim Igal, the Somali head of government renounced—for the first time in the country's history—the Somali people's right to self-determination. That act, which was felt to be a historic betrayal, was at the origin of the military coup d'état of October 1969.

[Delhi] What have been the most significant changes in the country since the establishment of the SRSP under General Barre's leadership?

[Samantar] As a result of the establishment of that single party, which has become the absolute master of the situation, the country is governed by a Supreme Revolutionary Council consisting of 19 individuals under the chairmanship of M.S. Barre. That was what brought Somalia into an era of dirigisme and bureaucracy.

[Delhi] Was there a need to establish the SRSP?

[Samantar] None whatever. Moreover, that single party is regarded by the Somali as a deviation from the national program adopted in October 1969<sup>3</sup> and a major factor in the country's destabilization. That political party was not a product of Somalia's historical, political, and sociocultural reality. On the contrary, it was the Soviet Union that took advantage of President Barre's weakness to force upon him the idea of establishing a Marxist-Leninist party at the top of the Somali state, something which the majority of the population rejects.

[Delhi] Why did the Soviets want to impose a Marxist-Leninist party on the Somali state's leadership?

[Samantar] From the Soviet Union's standpoint, establishing that party provided an additional guarantee that Somalia would remain within its sphere of influence.

[Delhi] How do you explain the rupture between Moscow and Mogadishu that took place a year after the party was founded?

[Samantar] When the war in the Ogaden broke out between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977, the Soviet Union supported the military regime of Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam despite the many coordination and friendship agreements and conventions that Nicolay Podgorny, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, had signed with Somali President M.S. Barre in Mogadishu on 24 July 1974. In that crucial period in the history of the Somali nation, the SRSP burned all the bridges linking it with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

[Delhi] What is your analysis of Soviet policy on the Horn of Africa during that period?

[Samantar] The Soviet Union's big concern was to control Somalia, Ethiopia, and South Yemen with a view to imposing its supremacy both in the Red Sea and in the Indian Ocean.

[Delhi] After breaking off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, why did the Somali president insist so strongly on safeguarding a party that had been forced on him to start with?

[Samantar] Because President Barre had no legitimacy outside the party.

[Delhi] In 1980, you headed the delegation that signed an agreement with the United States in Washington. Can you explain to us the nature of that agreement, which is still in effect?

[Samantar] Somalia grants certain military facilities to the Americans in Mogadishu and in the port of Berbera. As for the Americans, they are committed to helping Somalia militarily and materially, but the U.S. Administration has not lived up to its commitments<sup>4</sup>; that is why I see no value in keeping that agreement in effect.

[Delhi] Did your resignation from the Somali Government on 6 September 1980 have anything to do with that stand?

[Samantar] I decided to resign for three important reasons: the president of the republic and the people around him did not listen to me in 1977, when I advised them not to accept aid from the Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and countries on the Gulf) because of my strong conviction that the offer from those countries was calculated to help them strangle us more completely later; and, instead of supporting the Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF),<sup>5</sup> the Somali Government tried hard to gain control of it without considering the unfortunate reactions that would result. The fact is that since neither the Somali nor the WSLF leadership and rank and file had accepted Mogadishu's interventionist policy—it was regarded as intolerable interference in Ethiopia's internal affairs by almost all African countries—I could not tolerate my country's signing of a dishonest and humiliating agreement with the United States in Washington on 22 August 1980.

[Delhi] What do you think of the peace agreement signed on 4 April 1988 by the Ethiopian Mengistu Haile-Mariam and the Somali M.S. Barre following the 1977 war between the two countries?

[Samantar] It was more a fool's bargain than a genuine peace agreement between the two peoples. Colonel Mengistu is finding it very hard to cope with the many problems currently being experienced in Ethiopia<sup>6</sup>: the wars being waged in Eritrea, Tigre, Western Somalia, and the Oromo and Afar regions by the various national movements demanding that the central government in Addis Ababa recognize their national dignity; the increasingly strong influence of the other political parties; and the profound unrest, which is slowly but surely taking hold in the military apparatus and weakening the

political power in Ethiopia just a little more. The Ethiopian president therefore needed to sign that peace agreement with Somalia so he could move his military divisions from their positions on the Ogaden front to the fronts in Eritrea and Tigre. As for the Somali president, he was being hampered not only by several difficulties of a political, economic, and social nature but also by the persistence of the civil war that has been raging over the country for the past 11 years. Gen. Barre therefore felt the need to sign an agreement with Col. Mengistu so he could announce a political success to the Somali without worrying about the trap set by Ethiopian diplomacy.

[Delhi] Would you explain to us the basic clauses in that agreement dated 4 April 1988?

[Samantar] That agreement provides for:

- An immediate cease-fire with a view to ending the war.
- The withdrawal of both armies from the border.
- The exchange of prisoners of war.
- The restoration of diplomatic relations.
- Good-neighbor relations based on mutual respect and noninterference in the internal affairs of the other country.

[Delhi] Since you consider that agreement to be a "fool's bargain," how would you envision the solution to the Ogaden problem?

[Samantar] Before answering, I want to point out to you that despite the agreement signed by the two parties, the Ogaden issue remains unresolved because the two chiefs of state were very careful not to tackle that thorny problem.

On 8 April 1988—that is, only four days after the agreement in question was signed—I drew up a six-point statement of my views on how to settle the Ogaden issue—which has been poisoning relations between Somalia and Ethiopia for a very long time—once and for all. It is necessary to:

- Demilitarize the region completely.
- Grant the people of the Ogaden regional autonomy for five years.
- Help the Ogaden recover both economically and culturally with the help of the Ethiopian and Somali Governments.
- Prepare the inhabitants to exercise their right to self-determination with the participation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations (UN).
- Hold a referendum under UN auspices to allow the people of the Ogaden to freely choose their political future: the establishment of an independent state, union with Ethiopia, or a return to Somalia.
- Last, obtain a formal commitment from Ethiopia and Somalia that they will respect the choice made by the Ogaden's people.

[Delhi] To get back to the internal problems that have been shaking Somalia for about three years, does President Barre still rely on the support of the Marehan clan, to which he belongs, to remain in power?

[Samantar] Absolutely not. Proof of this is that on 26 May 1989, intellectuals, members of Parliament, company managers, and military men—all belonging to the Marehan group—placed in his own hands a letter in which they asked the chief of state to:

- Make a statement on radio and television acknowledging the failure of his policy and his inability to find a solution to the civil war that is exhausting Somalia and the Somali.
- Appoint a prime minister to form a provisional government with the mission of preparing for the holding of free elections in the country within six months.
- Revise the Constitution with a view to establishing a political system based on plurality of opinion and granting freedom of the press, freedom of expression, and freedom to demonstrate.
- Set up a program capable of bringing the country out of its apathy and stagnation and starting the economy out on the path to liberalism.
- Rebuild the northern part of the country, which has been seriously jeopardized by the civil war.
- Hold an early, free, and fair presidential election that will allow the nation's great political figures to run without necessarily being members of the party.

[Delhi] Why did it take the Somali prime minister, General Mohamed Ali Samantar, almost a month and a half to put together the government that was formed on 15 February 1990?

[Samantar] Relations between the chief of state and the prime minister had deteriorated. The president wanted his sons and cousins to be part of the new government, but the head of the government would not agree to assign portfolios to individuals not acceptable to Somali public opinion. In that tense political climate, the makeup of the government became a real headache. Mohamed Ali Samantar represents in fact the last card that President Barre can still play on either the national or the international level. That is why the Somali have nicknamed him "the fireman." Every time a political "fire" breaks out somewhere, the president calls on him to put it out, but how long will that continue?

[Delhi] How do you explain the relative calm that Somalia experienced—paradoxically—during the absence of a government, not only in the north, where the Somali National Movement (SNM) is increasingly active, but also in the center, where the members of the Somali National Congress (SNC) are concentrated, and in the south, where the Somali Patriotic Front (SPF) sporadically attacks government garrisons?

[Samantar] All the fronts except the SNM have exhausted their resources and are incapable of destabilizing the government. As for the effective presence of the SNM, that is explained by the fact that that movement is playing the anti-Somali card and benefiting from the aid that Somalia's enemies are bestowing on it so generously.

[Delhi] In reality, are there internal factors justifying the appearance and continued existence of the SNM?

[Samantar] The disastrous policy adopted by President M.S. Barre since the founding of the SRSP in 1976 has brought the country to the verge of political and economic bankruptcy, and that fact has contributed to the emergence of several armed opposition movements, notably the SNM. M.S. Barre's regime must accept its full responsibility for the country's present situation, which is not an easy one. To answer your question about the relative calm prevailing in Mogadishu, I would simply like to say that the president of the republic promised the nation that he would carry out fundamental changes in all areas. As a result, no one tried to hamper his action or to make an already precarious situation worse. But both sides are deluding themselves, because the chief of state is no longer in a position to satisfy the Somali people by implementing the radical changes to which they aspire. That being the case, the political fight that will soon begin should seriously jeopardize the position of Gen. Barre and his team.

[Delhi] Are the Somali Armed Forces still loyal to President Barre?

[Samantar] If we exclude the few officers belonging to the president's family, we can flatly state that the Somali Armed Forces fully agree with the opposition felt by the rest of the population.

[Delhi] So why aren't the Armed Forces stirring?

[Samantar] It's only a question of time and opportunity. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the president of the republic has entrusted all the key posts in the military apparatus to his sons and cousins.

[Delhi] Has the famous political plan that might unite all the opposition movements in Somalia, and that has been so much talked about recently, finally been set up?

[Samantar] For a long time we have been working patiently and passionately to put together a platform for uniting the various opposition fronts in the country and presenting a political force that will constitute a democratic alternative to Gen. Barre's dictatorial government. Except for the SNM, all the parties concerned have already expressed a favorable opinion of the plan, and we hope that the SNM will soon join us so that we can go into action.

[Delhi] To conclude this interview, how do you think the situation in the Horn of Africa may develop?

[Samantar] I feel that if a system of political confederation linking Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Eritrea were someday established on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination, the Horn of Africa would be transformed into an oasis of peace, stability, and prosperity. If that happened, Somalia would rediscover its lost unity, Ethiopia would have access to both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, Eritrea could freely choose its destiny, and Djibouti would find tranquillity without being coveted by its big sisters. Peace could finally be established in that part of the African continent, and that

is the sine qua non condition for its development, which alone will enable the inhabitants to view the future with optimism and hope.

#### Footnotes

3. See the program in the documents following this article [not included].
4. It is true that the United States did not help Somalia when the latter was attacked by Ethiopia and did not

uphold the principle of the Ogaden's right to self-determination when that problem arose.

5. Established in 1966, the WSLF demands the right to self-determination for the Ogaden, a province that Great Britain ceded to Ethiopia in 1949.
6. See "Ethiopia: From the Junta to the Republic," by Jacques Bureau, *AFRIQUE CONTEMPORAINE*, Vol. 147, No. 3, 1988, pp. 3-30, and "Eritrea," an interview with Assayas Afwerki by Ahmed Dehli, *AFRIQUE CONTEMPORAINE*, Vol. 148, No. 4, 1988, pp. 49-55.



**Foreign Minister on Iraq, Kuwait Situation**

*MB3008180090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1743 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 30 SAPA—South Africa was not considering participating in a peace-keeping force in the Persian Gulf, the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said in Pretoria on Thursday [30 Aug] night.

"Such a possibility is not considered at all," he said at a news conference after meeting Dr. W. F. van Eekelen, the secretary-general of the West European Union, which is charged with security and defence matters in nine European countries.

Dr. Van Eekelen said earlier on Thursday, at a joint media conference with Mr. Botha, he was trying to get cooperation in the field of security questions. He hoped most countries would present a united position in the Gulf region.

Mr. Botha told a second news conference later South Africa had not been asked by anyone to participate in a Gulf peace-keeping force and he would be surprised if the government considered such a request.

He rejected as completely untrue suggestions that South Africa was supplying weapons to Iraq.

Mr. Botha said he had issued a statement condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and that South Africa would not recognise the government imposed on Kuwait.

Mr. Botha said the government had sent messages to the United States, saying it was praying for President George Bush, who was "going through painful and lonely moments."

**Reacts To Report on Participation**

*MB3108101990 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0940 GMT 31 Aug 90*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 31 SAPA—The Department of Foreign Affairs did not want to give further comment on reports on Friday [31 Aug] morning that a squadron of SA Air Force jets will join the international peacekeeping force in the Persian Gulf area.

A spokesman from the department said Minister Pik Botha stood by what he said on Thursday night that South Africa was not considering participating in a peacekeeping force in the Persian Gulf.

"Such a possibility is not considered at all," Mr. Botha told a news conference after meeting Dr. W. F. van Eekelen, the secretary-general of the West European Union, which is charged with security and defence matters in nine European countries on Thursday.

Reports in a Johannesburg newspaper on Friday said SA might fight on the side of the UN if Iraq invaded Saudi Arabia or other Middle East countries.

"It is understood that the UN, through an unnamed member state, has asked that a squadron of SA Air Force jets join the international peacekeeping force in the Persian Gulf area.

"The request has come as a result of international pressure on South Africa being relaxed as a result of the country's reform policies," the newspaper said.

Dr. Van Eekelen said earlier on Thursday, at a joint media conference with Mr. Botha, he was trying to get cooperation in the field of security questions. He hoped most countries would present a united position in the Gulf region.

Mr. Botha told a second news conference later on Thursday that South Africa had not been asked by anyone to participate in a Gulf peacekeeping force and he would be surprised if the government considered such a request.

**Government Invites PAC to Talks on Constitution**

*MB3008161190 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1603 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 30 SAPA—Pretoria has moved to gather fresh support for negotiations with a formal letter to the radical Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) inviting the organisation to take part in talks on a new constitution.

Pretoria's sudden approach was revealed on Thursday [30 Aug] by PAC President Zeph Mothopeng, who told SAPA exclusively that his organisation had as yet not rejected the invitation, but would make its stance known once its formations had discussed the solicitation.

"A letter dated August 17, 1990, and signed by the minister of constitutional development, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, was hand-delivered at my home on the same day," said Mr. Mothopeng on Thursday.

"After consultation with members of the National Working Committee, I decided that the matter be referred to all PAC structures and Africanist formations for discussion. This letter will be discussed in the coming days. Our response will be based on the feedback.

"The PAC leadership works above board and not behind the scenes...decisions are arrived at with member participation," said Mr. Mothopeng.

The PAC leader, who spent two stints in the Robben Island Prison, said they had acknowledged receipt of the letter, pointing out their decision would rest on the shoulders of all members.

Presumably, this means internal members would travel abroad to brief cadres and the external leadership.



Mr. Mothopeng added a broad range of groups and organisations, outside of "Africanist formations," would also be consulted, but declined to name them.

The PAC is the first organisation to the left of the ANC [African National Congress] to receive a formal invitation.

AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] national organiser, Mr. Lusibe Ntloko, told SAPA they had as yet received no indication of an approach from the authorities.

"I was just on the line to AZAPO president, Dr. Itumeleng Mosala, and nothing came up about an invitation. If the government has done or is in the process of doing so, we are completely unaware of such a move," said Mr. Ntloko.

The invitation is surprising considering that the PAC has so far maintained a hardline position on negotiations with the government.

Its position is that until the "five pillars of apartheid"—the two Land Acts, the Group Areas Act, Bantu Education and the Population Registration Acts—are scrapped, there can be no basis for talks.

In addition, the PAC, like AZAPO and the ANC, consider a constituent assembly pivotal to the drafting of a new constitution.

#### Invitation Confirmed

*MB3108103590 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 31 Aug 90*

[Text] The minister of constitutional development, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, has confirmed that the Pan-Africanist Congress has been invited to hold talks with the government.

Dr. Viljoen told our political news staff that the president of the PAC, Mr. Zeph Mothopeng, said he would reply to the invitation once he had discussed the matter with his organization.

Earlier, Mr. Mothopeng confirmed that he had received an invitation from Dr. Viljoen. He said the letter would be discussed at different levels by all PAC structures and that an answer would be given after such discussion.

#### Government Grants Temporary Indemnity to Hani

*MB3008190890 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1826 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] Now for a report just received, the minister of justice, Mr. Kobie Coetsee, has announced that temporary indemnity has granted to Mr. Chris Hani to visit South Africa from 0600 [0400 GMT] in the morning on 4 September until 2300 [2100 GMT] on the evening of 5 September in order to meet with the Executive Committee of ANC [African National Congress] on the organization's internal matters.

This has been done at the special request of the Executive Council of the ANC, so that they would not have to meet in outside South Africa's borders.

This temporary immunity of approximately 41 hours, is subject to strict conditions. Mr. Hani will have to comply with the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes. Also under no circumstances will he be allowed to make public appearances or issue statements.

The Executive Council of the ANC has accepted these conditions. The minister has emphasized that the purpose of this temporary immunity, is to enable him to confer with ANC executives and not to lead any ANC delegation.

The minister's statement followed an earlier announcement by the ANC that Mr. Hani will lead the ANC's Working Group that will be responsible for dealing with all matters arising from the suspension of the armed struggle. The group has been appointed in terms of Protocol 3 of the Pretoria Minute. [passage omitted]

#### Vlok Addresses Party Congress on Police Role

*MB3108095090 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0931 GMT 31 Aug 90*

[Text] Durban Aug 31 SAPA—The South African Police [SAP] was playing the role of mediator between conflicting parties to prevent and stop the violence and unrest, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said on Friday [31 Aug].

He told the Natal National Party Congress that the SAP's role in such circumstances in the past had been more reactive in nature. "We are not angels and we also make mistakes. It is, however, unacceptable to accuse the SAP of being the cause of the violence and unrest."

If policemen had exceeded their legal powers in the process, they would be acted against departmentally.

"If there are facts to support allegations that policemen were involved in criminal conduct, these cases will be investigated, the members prosecuted and tried by courts of law. Accusations in this regard must, however, be supported by factual evidence."

Formal and informal control mechanisms over police powers were part of any democracy and this would not change in a new South Africa. It should be remembered that speculation or intentional propaganda was not sufficient to justify prosecution.

"Various leaders who blamed the police during emotional outbursts directly or indirectly encouraged attacks on policemen."

Since January more than 40 policemen had died in unrest-related incidents and many more were injured. Criticism was always welcomed, but unsubstantiated allegations caused policemen to become antagonistic towards the public.

"In a new South Africa we hope that attacks on policemen, their families and homes will stop. At best the SAP are only in a position to doctor the symptoms of serious anti-social human behaviour. The police are not responsible for the real causes of unrest and violence."

Mr. Vlok said discussions with middle-class blacks had brought to light that intimidation, squatting, unemployment and various other factors had contributed towards the conflict.

These factors had also caused the crime rate to reach unacceptable proportions and it could be expected to increase in the future.

"We can expect large increases in crimes such as robbery, housebreaking and car theft. As urbanisation increases, so will unemployment. Crime can only be curtailed if we also prevent the causes. For this we need the support of every South African, authorities and the private sector to find solutions to squatting. It is an important aspect of our future which must be solved."

Mr. Vlok said crime could be the spark in the powder keg for an increase in white-on-black violence.

"The problems in Welkom started with crime after the tornado. Shops and houses were looted and people starting taking the law into their own hands. We know what the results were."

Every parent, school, teacher, minister of religion, cultural organisation and other community institutions had a specific role to play. These social agents were well established among the whites.

"Black and brown youth have, since the middle '70s, grown up in a climate of violence, unrest and crime and authority structures in the communities have been completely broken down. We realise this and are going to take steps to rectify this. We are already talking to the ANC [African National Congress] and hope to make a breakthrough soon."

He said the situation at present remained extremely volatile where the slightest spark could turn emotions into a vicious spiral of violence and bloodshed. It was not only violence and unrest that had reached unacceptable proportions, but stayaways, consumer boycotts, strikes and acts of terrorism were also on the increase.

"These tendencies are unacceptable. In a new South Africa, South Africans will just have to exercise more tolerance towards one another. Order, peace and stability remain prerequisites in the process of building a new South Africa."

#### Further Remarks

MB3108141490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1200 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Durban Aug 31 SAPA—The National Party regarded law and order and the safety of all people of

paramount importance, the minister of law and order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, told the Natal National Party Congress on Friday [31 Aug].

"We are not soft on security but without law and order no orderly change is possible. As long as the National Party is part of any future government, this will be the case."

In a new South Africa the only real prevention of violence and unrest would be a social climate where each group and individual decided to respect the dignity of each other to the point where violence, unrest and intimidation were regarded as despicable. "The South African Police [SAP] will do everything possible to promote such a climate."

Mr. Vlok said the police needed the help of private citizens to assist in crime prevention. "We need your assistance to prevent rather than to solve crime."

He said the neighbourhood watch system really worked as it made residents aware of crime. "This system does not mean the establishment of vigilante groups who take the law into their own hands, but is a matter of good neighbourliness. Where managed correctly, these watches are of enormous help to the police."

Mr. Vlok said the SAP was taking careful note of people still carrying firearms to political meetings. "If people continue doing so with the object of intimidating people attending the meetings, I will not hesitate to amend the law."

#### Finance Minister Warns on Unrest, Economy

MB3008172490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1704 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Durban Aug 30 SAPA—The economic problems of South Africa would not be sorted out on an ideological basis, the minister of finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis, said on Thursday [30 Aug].

"We must mutually decide what the economy should look like at the end of the century. Only then will we have a chance," he told the Natal National Party Congress.

"When we talk about the economy of the new South Africa, it must be restructured to achieve a high growth rate with the accompanying creation of jobs. This is the vital issue to be pondered by those creating unrest on the labour scene. We cannot escape from what happened in Eastern Europe—the fundamental truths of economy cannot be disputed. We need a decent, firm and sensible monetary policy—you can't change arithmetic."

He said South Africa could not be isolated from the movement of economies in the rest of the world.

"If we want to see a total exodus, we must embark on a punitive tax system to provide funds for nationalisation."

It was also time people realised that the future lay in technology and not in white collar jobs.

"There are, however, red lights flashing in the area of production going down and salaries going up. This can price us out of the international market and trade unions must realise this.

"If we can harness the productive forces in South Africa and take our place with the trading nations, then I can think of no better place to be than in South Africa."

There was a perception that people have suffered under apartheid due to the free market economy.

"This is wrong and it will be necessary for us to break that synonym. Those stoking unrest must also decide whether they want money for education or if we must spend it on the police and military personnel who have to try and sort out the trouble", said Mr. du Plessis.

#### **Open City Application Complies With Areas Act**

*MB3008162090 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1500 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] The minister of planning and provincial affairs, Mr. Hernus Kriel, says the application by the Johannesburg City Council to have the city declared a free settlement area, complies with the Free Settlement Areas Act. However, problems with other legislation could make the application irrelevant.

Mr. Kriel said that if the Free Settlement Board recommended the application, problems could arise at local government level, because the Local Authorities Act did not make provision to open an entire city. An amendment to the act would be considered only at next years' parliamentary session.

Mr. Kriel said the state president had already announced that the Group Areas Act would be repealed or amended during the same session. If this happened, the application would be irrelevant.

#### **Minister on Transvaal Rent, Services Funds**

*MB3008153690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1529 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 30 SAPA—From the R[Rand]428 million budgeted this year to assist black local authorities in the Transvaal, only R99 million was still available, the minister of planning and provincial affairs, Mr. Hernus Kriel, said on Thursday [30 Aug].

He told a Pretoria press conference the TPA's [Transvaal Provincial Administration's] assistance to black local authorities was meant to cover 30 to 40 percent of the expenditure of local authorities.

A background statement on the provision of services to black communities, stated such financing was necessary

on account of backlogs in infrastructure and the fact that there was no adequate economic base formed by trade and industry in those areas.

The TPA had been forced, in view of the continued non-payment of accounts and the severely restricted funds available to the TPA, to determine priorities in regard to the provision of bridging finance as from August 31, 1990.

An amount of R26 million was monthly available for the whole of Transvaal as bridging finance to local authorities, the statement said. As a result of the boycotts the need for financial assistance increased to R35 million for April, R56,6 million for May, R63 million for June and R59 million for July.

"At this stage about R12 million per month will be available as bridging finance for the rest of the financial year," according to the statement.

In respect of Transvaal the arrears on rent and service charges totalled R854,537,565 at the end of July 1990. In the Transvaal negotiations aimed at resolving the rent and services crisis had been underway since May 23 this year.

#### **Louw on Educational Considerations in Future**

*MB3008155890 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1500 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] The minister of national education, Mr. Gene Louw, says mother language and cultural background will have to be considered when determining an education system for a future constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

Speaking at the National Party Provincial Congress in Durban, Mr. Louw said the education system was an integral part of the result of negotiations on a new dispensation.

Mr. Louw was reacting to a draft resolution, in which the government is asked to investigate the desirability of a single education department in South Africa. He said that without doubt the majority of whites chose own education, while black people regarded difference in education with distrust.

Mr. Louw said despite the fact that certain population groups set a single education department as a condition, it should not be seen as a magic formula that would solve problems in education.

#### **Justice Minister Comments on Prisoner Release**

*MB3108111890 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1050 GMT 31 Aug 90*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 31 SAPA—About 15 prisoners are due to be released from different prisons countrywide after the weekend, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said on Friday [31 Aug].



"This is made possible by applying normal release policy as well as a limited remission of sentence," said Mr. Coetsee.

He said no plan had been finally accepted by the principals of the working group established in terms of the Pretoria Minute. These releases were, however, part of the resolutions made during the Pretoria Minute talks. The Minute stated that "the further release of prisoners which could be dealt with administratively would start on September 1 1990".

The working group was established to draw up a plan for the release of African National Congress prisoners and the granting of indemnity to exiles.

Mr. Coetsee said the families of prisoners due to be released would be advised in advance. A spokesman from the department said the names of the prisons or prisoners concerned would not be announced beforehand.

#### **Zulus, Xhosas Declare Truce in Natal, Transvaal**

*MB3008174690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1732 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] Durban Aug 30 SAPA—Zulu and Xhosa leaders on Thursday [30 Aug] declared a truce in an attempt to end the ethnic war in Transvaal and Natal.

And they called on political parties and leaders to stop making ethnic groups the target of political propaganda and attack.

At the historic meeting in Durban, delegations of members of the Zulu royal family and kwaZulu cabinet and the traditional leaders of the Transkei and Ciskei resolved to hold a mass rally in Transvaal on September 16 and 17 at which Zulu King Zwelithini Goodwill and Transkei state President Paramount Chief T.N. Ndamase, will address the warring factions.

A working group has been set up to organise the rally.

The four hour meeting was organised by the Transkei traditional leaders following the violent "ethnic" clashes in the Transvaal which so far have claimed more than 500 lives.

The leaders called on every Zulu and Xhosa to "purge their minds and their hearts of all ethnic animosities. We ask them to desist from any act of violence against brother or sister," they said.

"We recognise the true source of conflict which lies quite outside the Reef's ethnic composition and resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder as black brothers to reject all those influences and all those leaders and political parties who dare put brother against brother."

The king and Chief Ndamase said political organisations and forces, which were using ethnic groups as political propaganda targets, should recognise that only "awesomely devastating consequences can flow from dragging

ethnicity into politics. Different African people have a right to their cultural identities."

Delegates resolved that Thursday's meeting should be remembered on August 30 every year as a great national day of unity and should be celebrated by a "huge mass unity rally of the people."

Earlier the king said there had never been any war between the Zulus and the Xhosas—the violence, billed by the media as being "ethnic," was because people were victims of misguided political ambitions, propaganda and misinformation.

"It is up to us, as natural leaders, to face up to this problem and make joint appeals for it to end."

#### **DP Leader Challenges ANC on Nationalization**

*MB2908163590 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1500 GMT 29 Aug 90*

[Text] The parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party [DP], Dr. Zach de Beer, has challenged the ANC [African National Congress] to state whether or not communism is its economic policy.

Dr. de Beer was reacting to a televised statement by the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr. Joe Slovo, that communism was the ultimate economic goal for South Africa. Dr. de Beer said this was irreconcilable with western democracy.

Dr. de Beer also reacted to a statement by an ANC economist, Mr. Tito Mboweni, that an ANC government would not necessarily compensate if it nationalized land.

Dr. de Beer said the two statements would have gravely damaged economic confidence, and unless the ANC dissociates itself from them quickly, the people of South Africa would pay a heavy price in lost job opportunities.

#### **ANC Spokesman On Talks With Inkatha, Violence**

*MB2908173590 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1545 GMT 28 Aug 90*

[Text] A senior member of the African National Congress [ANC], Mr. Joe Modise, says the ANC is willing to meet the Inkatha movement on condition that the ANC is not compelled to do so by continued violence perpetrated by Inkatha.

Speaking at a news conference in Windhoek, Mr. Modise, who is also the leader [as heard] of the ANC's Military Wing, said the ANC was prepared to negotiate with everyone to try to resolve the crisis in South Africa.

With regard to the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle, Mr. Modise said it will remain in force for as long as negotiations between the ANC and the South African Government continued.

**Hani To Head Team on End to Armed Struggle**

*MB3008143490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1427 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 30 SAPA—Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK)—ANC military wing] Chief of Staff Chris Hani will head the working group set up by the African National Congress [ANC] in terms of the Pretoria Minute, to deal with "all matters arising from" the suspension of the armed struggle.

Other ANC members on the group are Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma, Joe Nhlanhla, Pallo Jordan, Mathew Phosa and Joe Modise (ex-officio).

The members of the government's team are Adriaan Vlok, law and order; Roelf Meyer, constitutional development; Gen B.J. Beukers, security; Johan Geyser, justice; Dr. H.P. Fourie, foreign affairs; and M. Spaarwater, NIS [National Intelligence Service]. The first group's meeting is due to be held next week.

**Mandela To Appeal to Libyan Leader for Funds**

*MB3108065990 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2122 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] Cape Town Aug 30 SAPA—Nelson Mandela would appeal to Libya's leader, Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, for funds to build ANC [African National Congress] branches in SA [South Africa], said ANC spokesman Sakkie Macozoma on Thursday [30 Aug].

Mr. Macozoma said Mr. Mandela asked for funds on his visit to Libya in May, but was told to return in July to follow-up on his request. Asked if the ANC had been criticised for going to Colonel al-Qadhafi for funds, Mr. Macozoma said the ANC had appealed to many people for assistance.

"We will accept help from anybody who believes in the process we are engaged in and who wish to assist us in establishing local ANC structures," said Mr. Macozoma.

Libya first offered financial aid, military training and political support to the ANC in 1985.

Early last month, Colonel al-Qadhafi announced he had given a large sum of money to the British National Union of Mineworkers during the 1984 and 1985 strikes. This placed the controversial union leader Mr. Arthur Scargill under a lot of pressure to resign.

**Nation To Open Trade Mission in Mauritius**

*MB2908094690 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0900 GMT 29 Aug 90*

[Text] The Department of Foreign Affairs has confirmed that South Africa will open a trade mission in Mauritius. The deputy director general of the department, Mr. Rusty Evans, said the mission in the capital of Port Louis would be similar to the one in Harare. The turnover in

trade between the two countries totals about 300 million rands a year and tourism is flourishing.

**Norway Declares Support for De Klerk's Reforms**

*MB3008073090 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] The Norwegian Government has decided to open contact with South Africa on various levels as a sign of support for President F.W. de Klerk to continue the reform process.

The Norwegian state secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Knut Vollebaek [as heard], told our European representative that his government was trying to meet the challenges of the new situation in South Africa. He said that the changes that had taken place were impressive. Developments in South Africa were being followed with hope and excitement in Norway. Mr. Vollebaek said Norway did not consider it opportune at present to change its sanctions policy but he said Norway wanted to see the reform process continue by supporting President De Klerk.

Mr. Vollebaek said that the discussions on South Africa at the international conference in Oslo, on solving political contact through dialogue and democracy, had been the most exciting and moving of the conference. He said these images had had a good and positive impact on the Norwegian public.

**Zairean Minister 'Satisfied' With Visit To SA**

*MB2908134090 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1100 GMT 29 Aug 90*

[Text] The Zairean minister of transport and communication, Mr. Matuiko Basaula Kimasi [Kimasi Matuiko Basaula], says he is very satisfied with his short visit to South Africa [SA], during which he held high-level meetings with the South African Government and the private sector.

Well-informed sources said Mr. Kimasi held a protracted meeting with the South African minister of mineral and energy affairs and public enterprises, Dr. Dawie de Villiers. The sources added that Dr. De Villiers offered to exchange technology with Zaire and with African states in general, which was welcomed by Mr. Kimasi.

**Soweto Rent Talks Achieve 'Breakthrough'**

*MB3008142690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1344 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 30 SAPA—Negotiators on Thursday [30 Aug] were putting together a draft agreement that will precede a formal accord ending a devastating five-year-old rent boycott in Soweto.



"We're working on a draft agreement, putting final elements," Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, a member of the residents' negotiating team told SAPA.

The talks, that began in the morning had been tough, he conceded.

"They have been very difficult, not easy," the trade union leader said.

During a tea break on Thursday afternoon, members of the Soweto People's Delegation [SPD] which also includes Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, met in a separate room for what appeared to be final consultations.

Participants in the talks remained evasive, although spokesmen gave solid indications there had been a breakthrough.

The meeting, the sixth, brought together officials of the Soweto City Council, Dobsonville Town Council, Diepeameadow, Transvaal Provincial Administration and SPD.

#### Agreement Signing 24 Sep

MB3108073190 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0500 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] The five-year-old Soweto rent boycott is to end. A formal agreement is to be signed on 24 September by the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the Soweto People's Delegation and the three Soweto councils. This was announced at the end of yesterday's 14 and a half hour long talks in Johannesburg. Among the main points of the agreement reached yesterday are that 2 million rands in rent arrears will be written off and uniform tariffs will apply in all areas.

#### Editor—No Sale to ANC of DAILY MAIL

MB3008154890 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1542 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Johannesburg August 30 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] is not buying THE DAILY MAIL, nor any share of it, according to a statement by Anton Harber, co-editor of the newspaper.

Responding to press reports that the ANC had been approached by the ailing paper, which faces closure less than three months after its launch, Mr. Harber said there had been "informal and very helpful discussions with ANC leaders about the situation in which the news paper finds itself. However, there is no discussion about the possibility of ownership."

He said THE MAIL was continuing to receive a number of enquiries, messages and other forms of support, and was exploring all possibilities to raise the money to ensure the maintenance of the newspaper as an independent and outspoken voice.

The head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, Dr. Pallo Jordan, said the ANC had been approached by the newspaper's staff, according to earlier news reports.

He said that purchase was one of several options being considered by the ANC, which had been looking into the option of launching its own newspaper.

THE MAIL said in a statement the paper would be published until at least September 7.

#### 31 Aug Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB3108125190

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

Cutting Township Services 'Foolhardy'—"To cut off the townships' lights and water 'until they see sense' may seem, to some, like appropriate retaliatory justice," remarks Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 31 August in a page 12 editorial. "Yet it is a dangerous and equally crude response which can lead to chaos and confrontation. The anger engendered among blacks may make it still harder to resolve the socio-political issues underlying the boycotts, as they eventually must be resolved." "Trying to beat the townships into submission is both foolhardy and, in the end, counter-productive."

#### BUSINESS DAY

Call for De Klerk To Abolish Group Areas Act—The Group Areas Act "is dying a slow, lingering death" and "the kindest thing the government could do would be to put it out of its misery," affirms a page 16 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 31 August. "When a law is neither respected nor enforced, and is incapable of being replaced, the sensible politician will claim the moral high ground. If President de Klerk announced that a moribund law no longer applied, it would not be the first time he had made an effective virtue out of political necessity."

Cutting Services to Townships May Rebound—The decision by municipalities to cut electricity and water supplies to boycotting black townships is "a heartless action which may yet rebound on them." "Government, the ultimate target of those refusing to pay rents or for municipal services, sought to pass the buck. It cut off its bridging finance to the Transvaal Provincial Administration, which cut funds to municipalities, which in turn were faced with carrying the loss or cutting services to the townships."

#### NEW NATION

Criticism of Government 'Murky Vision' of Negotiations—Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 31 August-6 September says in its page 6 editorial "a number of nagging questions are beginning to emerge

because the government has been giving a rather murky vision of how it sees the political processes in this phase of negotiations unfolding." NEW NATION does not believe the "murkiness on the part of the government" is a result of "lack of vision. We believe it is a strategic one." The paper objects to the "tendency by the government to want to be player and referee at the same time. The withdrawal of the indemnity of MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe; ANC military wing] chief Chris Hani and the now self-evident role of the police in the recent violence in the Reef are characteristic of a government practise of wanting to talk and fight at the same time."

### CAPE TIMES

Disarming Natal 'Combatants' Welcome—"President de Klerk's announcement of the government's decision to disarm the combatants in the civil strife on the Rand is welcome and commendable, although some would say it could have come sooner, and in Natal, where more than 4,000 people have died," says Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 27 August in a page 6 editorial. Disarming "the belligerents" seems "the only way to halt the slaughter."

### \* Mac Maharaj Discusses SACP, ANC

90AF0582C Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL  
in English 27 Jul 90 p 42

[Interview with ANC [African National Congress] National Executive Committee member Mac Maharaj by Amarnath Singh in Johannesburg: "Against the Wind"]

[Text] A member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, Mac Maharaj is also on the politburo and central committee of the SA [South Africa] Communist Party (SACP), which is being formally launched in Johannesburg this weekend. He spoke to FM [FINANCIAL MAIL] staffer Amarnath Singh.

[Singh] Why launch a party separate from the ANC especially if, as Joe Slovo says, there are no basic differences between the two?

[Maharaj] There are no basic differences between the ANC and SACP with regard to the current stage of the struggle, which we see as a struggle to create a nonracial, democratic, nonsexist, united SA. But, of course, our long-term interests are integral to our outlook as a communist party and we believe the development of SA in the interests of the entire people, particularly the working people, should be the creation of a socialist SA.

The construction of socialism is a process. We believe that the achievement of national democracy will be a major step in creating the conditions for it. So we find it necessary to launch the party. We have existed at all times in alliance with the ANC, as independent organisations, maintaining that separate identity even in the underground phase.

Now that a legal space has opened within the country, through pressure, we have decided to occupy that space, both by putting forward a vision of a socialist society, as well as encouraging a mobilising for the immediate struggle. We expect to work together and we expect the alliance to continue.

[Singh] Who leads who?

[Maharaj] Our relationship is based on the understanding that, at this stage of the struggle, the ANC leads the alliance. Our members have a duty to support and build the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe [MK—Spear of the Nation], completely respect the decision-making processes within those structures and give them our total loyalty.

[Singh] It seems brave to be launching the party in view of communism's rejection elsewhere.

[Maharaj] We have general and specific reasons—not to claim that we have special courage—but to claim that the case for socialism has not failed. Mistakes have been committed and I think we are in the unique position of learning from them. The lesson for SA communists is that we should not allow the leadership to get separated from our people.

It would appear that another lesson is that we should not try to do the impossible—that is, to change reality outside of the concrete conditions. So we adhere to the idea that the immediate future beyond national democracy is the construction of a democratic socialist society.

But we come from and operate in a country where there is immense support for the SACP and its ideals. We may argue about the depth of that support, but I think it is incontrovertible that the majority of the working people in SA do see beyond the national democratic revolution to building a society on a basis where everybody practically and materially enjoys equal opportunity and political freedom in that context.

[Singh] Assuming there are elections to a constituent assembly, isn't there a danger of your splitting the ANC vote?

[Maharaj] How we would conduct ourselves if and when a constituent assembly materialises is a bit far ahead. But, in taking the decision to launch the party publicly we have consulted with our allies and fraternal organisations—not just those defined narrowly in the ANC-SACP COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance—but beyond that in the UDF [United Democratic Front], women's and youth sectors. In the same way, we will naturally consult and examine the problem ourselves and assess which is the best way forward to consolidate a nonracial democratic SA that would emerge from a constituent assembly.

That is the only reason why we are not prepared to say how we would conduct ourselves, because this needs to be done against a concrete reality.

[Singh] Can you foresee a time when the SACP and ANC will part company on economic questions? Nelson Mandela implies the call for nationalisation doesn't proceed from an ideological straitjacket, but is really about redistribution and social justice.

[Maharaj] Well, it is not clear, because our commitment in launching ourselves is both to democratise ourselves thoroughly within our own ranks but also, we have an extended vision. Whatever emerges and whatever directions are taken must receive the backing of people and must involve the people.

So I think there is room for great and fruitful debate, exchange of ideas and growth of ideas. We have no closed agenda. We have a conception of how to eliminate exploitation of man by man and how to make political freedom and the freedom of the individual real and concrete. And we believe that you cannot separate political and economic freedom.

We may use the term "mixed economy"—fair enough—and I agree up to a point with comrade Mandela that "isms" are not the important issue. But we would like to inject into the debate that, in building a mixed economy, we should try and have it with a socialist orientation.

[Singh] The Communist Party of Great Britain [CPGB] last year declared "class struggle is a dead duck."

[Maharaj] In Marxist theory the class struggle is the arena where society develops and I think the abandonment of the concept of a class struggle has serious consequences for any vision of a socialist society. But of course the CPGB is an independent party; they are grappling with concrete problems and we welcome the debate. For ourselves, as SA communists, we adhere to the concept of a class struggle because we believe it enables us to meaningfully analyse how society develops and how it changes.

I do not think that humankind has abandoned the hopes of building a society of true equality and freedom.

[Singh] Isn't the argument really about the way to achieve that? Capitalism appears to have come closer.

[Maharaj] J. K. Galbraith recently said in an important article that we should not simply gloat over what has happened in the socialist countries. He pointed to the fact that in capitalist society there are major contradictions, inequalities and rampant poverty, and that an explosion may come from the backyards of capitalism.

Certainly, no one can argue that what capitalism has achieved thus far leads us to suppose that capitalism, left unfettered, would develop a society that is just.

So while we may say there have been these problems in eastern Europe, let us agree in debate that neither has the West solved the problems.

[Singh] Do you regard Mikhail Gorbachev as a communist or a social democrat?

[Maharaj] I would describe Gorbachev as belonging to the healthiest traditions that go with Marxism.

[Singh] Do you accept the profit motive as the incentive that drives people to produce more, that they don't produce for the good of their fellow man, but their own wellbeing?

[Maharaj] I thought the latest capitalist position is to have combined it with social responsibility.

However, the point is, yes, people need incentives and this is one of the faults of trying to race too far ahead of reality. People have been accustomed to think in terms of immediate material incentives. Now we cannot simply say we deny totally the profit motive, but we certainly deny the rampant profit motive. And we would be prepared to debate with capitalist ideologues how they reconcile social responsibility with the profit motive.

Every company chairman today makes a statement about social responsibility. But when we look at reality, well, it's crumbs from the table. We're talking about structural changes. People talk about harmonious labour relations. How do you give the workers a sense of commitment to it on the terms of the capitalists? So, we need a built-in relationship.

If we can arrive at a negotiated solution, we need to ground it on a reality where all people have a vested interest in that society. You do not build a house without some idea of what it will look like and we believe we have some conception of the future which we wish to put on the table.

#### **\* AZAPO Paper Explains Land Policy**

90AF0582D Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 3-5 Aug 90 p 6

[Article by Cassandra Moodley: "All Azanians Must Have Land. Not Just Indigenous People"—first paragraph is THE WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] spelled out its policy on land, a major issue that separates it from the African National Congress [ANC], at this week's National African Chambers of Commerce conference in Durban.

The Azanian People's Organisation is intensifying its demand that "the land belongs to the rightful owners", a pivotal part of its policy and one that distinguishes it from the African National Congress.

But is the phrase mere revolutionary rhetoric from the Black Consciousness Movement, or is there more behind the slogan?

Land repossession was a major focus during this week's annual conference of the National African Chambers of



Commerce in Durban when an AZAPO paper, entitled "Land Distribution as an Economic Strategy for the Future", was presented.

The technicalities of implementing the redistribution of land "will have to be worked out in its finer details by the government that comes into power", admitted publicity secretary Strini Moodley.

The paper dealt with "giving land distribution, as an economic strategy, a new contextual meaning", a crucial issue at this stage. "A landless people cannot be liberated."

AZAPO's goal to liberate the land would seem to be based, according to the paper, on a class analysis of society.

Land had to be returned to its original function of providing shelter and productivity, he said. Utilised for wealth-creation and profit-making, land would become private property—a taboo word. Under capitalism "land is an exploitable commodity at the expense of human needs and human life", Moodley said.

He added: "No one can argue about democracy without arguing for the total re-distribution of the land and wealth in this country".

At present, white society controlled 87 percent of the land. "It is a reality that 87 percent must be included in the re-distribution," Moodley said.

Land ownership, and not merely employment, was seen as determining "a person's position in terms of wealth": it meant owning land for a home, business, industry, the extraction of raw materials or the provision of recreation and cultural activities.

The landless and homeless—black people in the main—were denied access to this wealth, AZAPO said.

"The struggle for land is a struggle not only to possess land but also to change the relationship with land." Moodley criticised the ANC's campaign for "squatters" to occupy empty land—"the struggle is to repossess all the land, not just empty land".

"Land," said Moodley, "is the primary means to production", it supported the water, the grain, the animals. "Metals, oil and gas—all came from the land".

But he also pointed out that the land did not give off wealth automatically. "Somebody has to work the land".

Historically, said AZAPO, during the conquest of the land in 1652, "white settlers turned dispossessed black people into labour producing the wealth extracted from the land".

The programme of colonisation had three phases: the conquest of the land, the creation of justifications for exploiting blacks as cheap labour—"racism and apartheid", and the institution of legislation which made blacks landless.

Moodley outlined what was meant by returning the land to its rightful owners.

"We are not simply talking about returning land to an indigenous people. We are talking about freeing the land from a society that has taken it illegally and ensuring that land does not become the basis for exploitation of people."

This does not mean AZAPO had discounted the race factor.

Moodley pointed out: blacks needed to rid themselves of the notion brought on by racism that they have inferior claim to the land—"racism has distorted the value of land, made land a private thing—to be exploited for profit".

And white society used black labour to gain security, privilege and power, convincing themselves of their superiority—"the psychological capture of land".

He then outlined implementation of this policy.

Once the land had been reconquered, redistribution would follow. "It would be available for all Azanians." The inhabitants of a liberated South Africa would not be distinguished by race, according to AZAPO.

If land was to be used for personal use, that land had to be freely available to all people. The people who contributed to the economy of the country had to be allowed to build homes on land, without having to pay for the land, Moodley said.

Proscriptions would follow when land was used for the creation of wealth—it should not belong to individuals.

This would not prevent individuals having access to land for wealth creation, "but they will have to pay rent on the land into the national treasury".

Private ownership of the land for wealth-creation or profit-making, however, would be prevented and would only be sanctioned for housing. Land for recreation would be free to all communities, AZAPO said.

Referring to presently occupied land, Moodley said a future government would have to work out the mechanism for appropriation. "Where private ownership for personal use is excessive those excesses will be redressed."

#### \* Commentator Analyzes SACP's Future Role

90AF0582E Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 3-5 Aug 90 p 6

[Article: "SACP, Democracy: Strange Bedfellows"]

[Text] Could the South African Communist Party [SACP] play a role in building a democracy?

Those who know the SACP and its past will greet the question with a loud laugh. It was for decades the most Stalinist Communist Party in the West. Many on the



Left, as well as non-socialists, associate it more with secret manipulation than with a desire for freedom.

While the party insists it has shed its past, it still refuses to say who all its leaders are, let alone all its members.

As long as it retains this sort of secrecy, it will be unable to fully rebut claims that it is party to secret conspiracies.

But, despite this, there is an intriguing possibility that the SACP could help, rather than hinder, democracy here.

This will depend on what sort of party it becomes.

Traditionally, it has been a "vanguard" party which sought influence without the backing of a mass membership.

Now it says it wants to become a "legal mass party".

It has told left-wing unionists that it is open to all socialists whether or not they support its brand of Marxism.

Whether or not it means this, it is keen to now recruit mass support. It is likely to draw it from two sources—workers in COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and youth in the SA Youth Congress.

These are two very different but important constituencies.

The fate of democracy here will depend partly on whether an economic compromise is achieved between the majority's demand for redistribution and the need for economic growth.

Because the majority will have high expectations which can't be fulfilled, the compromise will only stick if it is negotiated by organisations strong enough to persuade apartheid's victims to accept less than they had hoped for.

Since unionised workers will be a key element in the compromise, one of the negotiators will have to be a strong union movement. A compromise might have more chances of success if it is backed by a workers' party.

Non-communists would prefer that party not to be the SACP. But there may be no alternative.

One of apartheid's many dubious achievements is that, while calling a party "communist" is a liability virtually everywhere else, here it is a positive asset.

Since the early 1980s, some leaders of what is now the Congress of South African Trade Unions have debated forming a party which will represent worker interests.

But they found that apartheid has bestowed such symbolic appeal on African nationalism—and the African National Congress [ANC]—that a worker party which is independent of the ANC would enjoy little support.

The SACP has no such problem. It is allied to the ANC and this, together with a feeling among many activists that anything the Nats [National Party] have vilified for so long can't be all bad, gives it a credibility which has little to do with its ideology.

So the SACP launch has placed unionists who want a workers' party in a quandary. Many still suspect it, but believe it may be the only potential worker party which can win mass support.

Some unionists who seemed hostile to the SACP have, therefore, joined—either they believe it has changed or they feel that if they want a worker party it will have to be this one.

Others have stayed out. But, because an independent worker party has even less chance of support now than it had when the SACP was banned, they are unlikely to form their own party.

So, if a strong worker party is needed for a compromise, the SACP could be the only candidate.

The chance that it may back a compromise is better than it seems.

Its leaders may not be unquestioned democrats, but they may well be enthusiastic compromisers: one reason why some unionists don't like the party is that it has spent part of the past few years trying to get them to defer demands for socialism.

It is not even clear what the SACP means now when it talks of "socialism". It seems to be trying to sound more like a moderate social democratic party than a revolutionary vanguard.

(Other left-wing parties have to drop the "communist" label even if they want to stay socialist. Here, apartheid may have ensured that a left-wing party must retain the label even if its wants to retreat from socialism).

Nor is it certain that the SACP will remain the kind of party it has been in the past.

Even if its leaders still want to manipulate, not represent, workers they might not find this easy. If union members do join, the party would acquire an organised base used to running their own organisations. They may insist on running the party too.

And, while socialist rhetoric is common in COSATU, its leaders and members are used to compromise. So it is at least possible that the SACP could become a vehicle for an economic compromise which could sustain democracy.

The youth are equally important to democratic prospects. Sayco [South African youth Congress] is the most uncompromising part of the ANC alliance and its members could do a great deal to derail a compromise settlement.

It may only accept a settlement if it is persuaded by a party with "revolutionary" credibility—the kind the SACP might have.

This does not mean the SACP will be a force for democracy or compromise. Just as the ANC is divided between those who want to negotiate and those who want a revolution, so too is the SACP. But, if there are strong anti-democratic currents in the SACP, they will be weakened only if it has to compete for mass support. Excluding it from politics did not reduce either its appeal or its influence over anti-apartheid politics—it did the opposite.

And anti-democratic currents within the party might well be weakened the more the SACP is forced to engage in open politics.

If the government wants the SACP to be bound by a settlement, its best option may be to insist that it sign one. It can only do that if it negotiates with it. And if business wants an economic deal, it may have to negotiate it with any party, including the SACP, which can make it stick.

For both, dealing with the SACP may hold less risk than ignoring it.

#### \* Albie Sachs Discusses Political Outlook

90AF0504A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese  
28 Jul 90 pp 30-33

[Interview With ANC Lawyer Albie Sachs by Antonio Loja Neves and Pilar del Rio]

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] militant, lawyer and constitutionalist Sachs had been forced into exile. He had installed himself in Mozambique where the apartheid police had not forgiven him for being a "white traitor." Attacked, he has lost neither his smile nor his confidence. He is truly a dreamer who will not stop until he sees his most cherished dream realized.

Several months after the attack that could have cost him his life Albie Sachs, while convalescing in a British hospital, requested a visit by a psychiatrist.

That afternoon he had been visited by a female friend, like him an ANC militant, and he had finally been able to inquire about what happened that 7 April 1988, the day when a bomb exploded as he got into his car in Maputo.

Albie Sachs spoke with his friend about the assassination attempt, rearranged his mosaic of memories with the information that had only then been transmitted to him, savored the pleasure of knowing he was loved when he had been the mere detritus of a man lying in the street, an unconscious victim in a Mozambican hospital, a seriously wounded amputee in London. And he again felt the experience of happiness, that strange sensation that had possessed him ever since the very moment of

the explosion. It was for that reason that he had requested the psychiatrist's visit.

[EXPRESSO] Despite the conditions of working secretly and in exile, the attempted assassination and the difficult recovery, despite all that, you always give the impression of being happy. Do you consider yourself a happy man?

[Sachs] Yes, when I am happy! But I believe that our generation in South Africa is a happy generation. We have fought for very specific things, for freedom in our country, and we are on the way to achieving that. It is a happy phase, historically and collectively.

Every individual has his own personality, his way of feeling happiness. With me it has been visible recently. The effect of the attack had a positive side, that of liberating in me the notion of happiness. It is not easy to explain.

[EXPRESSO] Does life have a special flavor after you have an experience like that?

[Sachs] At first the doctors explained my euphoria as the effects of the anesthetic. But time passed and the happiness with life remained. Later I rationalized it and explained it in another way—in one of those kinds of struggles, everyone has the deep fear of one day facing torture or being attacked by the enemy, and asking oneself: "How will I react at a time like that? Will I stick it out or not?" It is an almost unconscious thing, especially when operating clandestinely, with all the stories of fighters that had been captured and tortured, and who resisted or who did not. At the time of my attack, there was an explosion and I reacted well, with strength, and I was very happy because of that. It was the moment of the greatest crisis in my life and I succeeded in overcoming it.

There was another important aspect, that of feelings between people. I believe that we all ask ourselves what will happen when we die: will they cry for us or not? At that time many people thought that I had died and they cried. Now I know, so I can go on living without asking that of myself any more. That also brings some happiness.

[EXPRESSO] And it allows you to rediscover the beautiful things in life?

[Sachs] It is almost as if there were a second chance. When I learned to write, as a child, it was a delicious moment: "Look mother! See what I can do!" When I learned to swim it was the same feeling. I am going through that again, with the same enthusiasm, feeling the euphoria of recuperation, of new growth.

[EXPRESSO] Did that feeling of happiness already exist before the attack?

[Sachs] In a way. I liked living in Mozambique very much: the relationships between people, the climate of antiracism, the fact that we were really dealing with the problems of our region, among so many difficulties. But

there is no doubt that the happiness I feel now was, shall we say, liberated by the bomb. Perhaps there is a collapse in the offing, but I do not accept that possibility; already two years have passed, and I feel great.

[EXPRESSO] There is a great deal of humor in your book. Do you believe that for a militant in conditions as difficult as yours, humor is a necessary instrument?

[Sachs] Humor and love, yes. Without arguing over the priority of either. Humor has always been present in our process of struggle in the ANC.

[EXPRESSO] After some time without knowing the details of the attack, you are now able to speak of it openly. How would you describe that moment?

[Sachs] I was going to the beach. I don't know if the bomb was inside or outside the car, nor do I have a solid memory of having tried to open the door. What I tried to do in the book was communicate the sensation I had at that exact moment. The subjective memory. One part that was technically difficult was to communicate the absence of sensation, the feeling of emptiness, to enter and leave that vacuum...it is a technical problem in literature. Through very specific words I tried to tell the reader how a person feels in those moments of total confusion. There is a mixture of sensation in absolute disorder. Nothing is in order, one passes from consciousness to unconsciousness, does one exist or not? Here I was lucky in one way. In Mozambique we lived in a permanent state of tension and the literature that I read was almost entirely leisure reading; I read many detective stories and the best authors frequently touched upon that borderline situation, in a visceral way...perhaps that has been the strongest influence on my style of writing...

[EXPRESSO] In a book as peculiar as "The Gentle Revenge of a Freedom Fighter" you had no other literary influences?

[Sachs] Now I am going through a phase in which I practically do not read. Before, I read books so as to enter the world of the writer's imagination. Russians such as Dostoyevsky, or French such as Balzac and Proust, or Brazilian Jorge Amado, or any detective story. But now life itself is so full of strength, it goes so far beyond the imagination, that a book becomes a much more pallid vision than what it was before. I have to "normalize myself" again before being able to enjoy the pleasure of reading.

[EXPRESSO] When they captured a member of the team that had organized the attack, you had the intention of contacting the bomber. You did not do so, however. Are you still interested in such a meeting?

[Sachs] It was a very strong interest, to have that human contact with the people responsible. I wanted to humanize the occurrence; it was much more difficult to accept that the attack had not been done by a person but rather by an "abstract intelligence," that there was a totally instrumental hate. It was more acceptable to me

to find a person with bones, blood, spirit, mind, the same as me. But with the new phase in South African life, that belongs a bit to the past and I do not have as strong a desire to have that contact. However, I would like to know the technical aspects of the attack, what went through the bomber's head at that exact moment, what his life is like now.

[EXPRESSO] And do you have some hope for them to be punished?

[Sachs] No. First because I do not know what "punishment" is. Also because that will not make my arm grow back. I do not want to burden my experience with a punishment. Pay an indemnity? Of how many millions? Sincerely, the most important thing is that what I experienced was for a cause, or it was for no good reason. If we are able to create better human relations in South Africa, with more dignity for everyone, then it was not in vain. But if some day we construct an authoritarian state that represses citizens, then all this was in vain.

[EXPRESSO] And why exactly was Albie Sachs the target?

[Sachs] That is what I don't know. I was never part of the guerrilla structure, my period of clandestine militancy was a thing of 20 years ago. At the time of the attack I formed part of the ANC Constitutional Commission, working very openly, writing documents on the new Constitution for South Africa. They should have known that. But I feel that the objective was to physically eliminate the ANC, terrorize it. At that time, they assassinated Dulcie September, who was our representative in Paris and was only involved in diplomatic work. It was the worst offensive ever on the part of the agents of "apartheid," a great deal of aggressiveness was felt. It is clear that they hated in a special way those whom they considered "white traitors."

[EXPRESSO] Your experience is very strange. You never felt hate?

[Sachs] It is a strange thing. The only time I remember feeling hate, a hate that comes from deep down itself, was after moments of extreme happiness, during the recuperation phase. I would be full of joy and I would come across a small frustration, and that is how I reacted. But one can say that it was my happiness that liberated the hate, not the drama or the pain. Let us say that it was hate, but not a very "hateful" hate!

[EXPRESSO] Then you have not had the experience of how much hate can be contained in a human being.

[Sachs] No, for better or for worse, that has nothing to do with my personality... There is something that is quite relevant: when I began in the struggle I knew there were risks. In that sense the attack was no surprise, nor was it unjust. Of course I am not giving the regime the right to massacre and organize assassinations, but in that regard



it was a risk I accepted and I cannot complain about the life I chose. Instead of moaning, I am very happy at having survived.

[EXPRESSO] In the book you say that "in life there is much organized hatred, but also much organized love." After the discovery of that organized love, how can you justify the title of the work, "The Gentle Revenge..."

[Sachs] That is what it is, a gentle revenge, not to avenge oneself with the means the enemy uses. To avenge oneself not necessarily with love, but with another type of culture. It is a much more powerful revenge, through the culture of respect, of love. To be able to survive, resist all the attacks and retain our vision as human beings. Our "humanity" is our revenge. Of course there is a certain irony in the title... But my place in heaven is guaranteed, no revenge will take it away.

[EXPRESSO] That is a very evangelical revenge!

[Sachs] Absolutely!

[EXPRESSO] There is no irony, however, in the rest of the title, "A Freedom Fighter." Isn't that a bit out of fashion?

[Sachs] It is, it is. When I wrote the book it was less so! (laughs) In the last chapter I say that I invited Nelson Mandela and all those who had formerly been imprisoned, exiled, and censored, all of us "freedom fighters," to run together on the beautiful beach at Capetown. In those days of postmodernism we could still proudly call ourselves freedom fighters. Maybe we are the last ones in the world; until another new phase, because as long as oppression exists there will also always be freedom fighters. But perhaps in this historical phase we are the last ones.

[EXPRESSO] Why would a white [man] become involved in a black emancipation movement?

[Sachs] Well, I became involved in the ANC not as a white [man] but as a person, while I was citizen Albie Sachs. And I was accepted as such. Not as a pseudo-black, because when we joined the movement we brought what we possessed, culture, ideas, language, experience, even privileges. I was born privileged, I was raised privileged, but instead of repudiating it, I tried to bring to the struggle everything I had. That is how it should be, rather than having a lot of complexes for being intellectual, or white, or middle class, or a man. And we exchanged experiences in the common struggle. I received African culture, all the generosity of a people, its humor, its combative spirit. It was a very rich exchange. It is great to be South African. It is! Believe me, it is great to be a member of the ANC.

[EXPRESSO] And when did you discover that?

[Sachs] By the simple fact of being in the ANC we woke up to our South Africanism in a very particular manner, which implies taking advantage of all the richness of the various cultures, the ideas and the influences of all the

people. Our desire is that everyone can take advantage of that, without necessarily being members of the ANC. We want a nationality for everyone, based on that notion of equality, without eliminating the characteristics, the traces of personality inherent in each one of us.

[EXPRESSO] Is that how the majority of ANC militants think?

[Sachs] There have always been two revolutionary traditions in our movement. It is very interesting. One is more European, that of a revolutionary as a very serious person, well organized, disciplined, punctual, without ever divulging information on his activities. The other is that of popular participation, very different but very important for us: the tradition of generosity, love, support, contact with the masses—not as abstractions, but as real people. The ANC has succeeded in more or less creating an amalgam of these two traditions of different origins, to a great advantage. When we sing our hymn, it is a religious hymn: "God bless Africa." But we do it with a raised fist. That is an example of the interchange. We never lose the popular aspect, the human side that comes to us more from the African continent than from the internationalist part, which has a certain hardness, a more instrumental attitude, but which also has had negative results in other parts of the world. We have escaped that, I think, in great part as a result of the always popular aspect of our struggle.

[EXPRESSO] At a certain point in the book you say: "For us to be involved in the struggle and ready to give our lives does not mean with certainty that we have to live without distinction, in a disinterested manner and without a passion for pleasure." The revolution, or pleasure, the passion for pleasure. Did the internationalist side, dominated by theoretical issues, restrict that way of thinking?

[Sachs] Yes, although there was seriousness in both components. In part that came from the internationalist movement, but it also came from the various religious tendencies and even from some aspects of African culture, through the old morals, for example. All these influences led toward a great puritanism. But on the other hand those internationalist sectors bequeathed to us an interest in life, in all the cultures of the world. The Church, for example, bequeathed to us a taste for music. Our people sing and dance when they fight and the Church has permitted that in South Africa. Since African culture is imbued with humor, courtesy, subtleness, pleasure, we were able to neutralize those who tended toward repression of the human spirit, the enjoyment of pleasure, personal development.

[EXPRESSO] It is not only at the point where you describe your recuperation surrounded by friends that the narrative of this book is typically African, as it was then written. Its entire structure takes the traditional African story-telling form. The way you face life's difficulties, get around them, how you smile at misfortune



and get others to laugh with you, owes a great deal to the so-called African wisdom, in the age-old manner of facing reversals.

[Sachs] Hmm...Well, the humor, for example, is universal, but there is, in fact, a very strong African humor, connected to the human being himself, to his body, to Humanity. My way of writing the book has to do with living in Africa, has to do with my reading of detective stories, with all the literature that I have read since childhood, with James Joyce, it has to do with everything. There was no prior plan, it just came out that way.

[EXPRESSO] That Africanism is natural, Albie is an African...

[Sachs] I am, it is nice of you to remember!

[EXPRESSO] And when you say that you were privileged as a child and as a youth, would you say that the greatest privilege was having been born Afrikaner, and in that family?

[Sachs] Exactly. My family was antiracist, democratic. I did not have to learn that, it was like mother's milk, it was something automatic, natural. Nevertheless, I went through difficulties as a child in a family of politicians: the need to affirm myself as an individual being. For many years I rejected any imposition of my family's ideas. I discovered them for myself, in my second year of university, a fabulous year, with friends who took great joy in life and discussed every issue.

[EXPRESSO] In Mozambique you participated in an almost unique experience, one that only a single generation sees in each country: the birth of a nation.

[Sachs] It was a very great joy. Another privilege that I had. In Europe I learned many facts, but nothing new about life. In Mozambique I learned new things every day, about society, behavior, about myself. It is important to feel that we are building something new. In Europe, for example, everything that is fundamental is already determined, and the search focuses on what is marginal. In Africa we are creating our world. What is it to be South African, to be Mozambican, what is our culture?

[EXPRESSO] And in South Africa now?

[Sachs] We are in an important time of renovation, things are changing. Now, what is fundamental is for us to have a vision and a mentality that corresponds to the new situation. We cannot take to the new place of freedom the mentality of the oppressed, of clandestinity, of the political prisoner, of the exiled, of the censored. Not all of us will be able to do that and I feel the danger of that very rapid change. Fortunately our movement is very open and likes to have a good argument, which provides for very rich internal debates.

[EXPRESSO] In the book you say that now it is important that they have a vision for leadership of the country as a whole...

[Sachs] Unfortunately, it is traditional that many of us are better when we are in the opposition. We have the anti-State mentality and we do not accept the responsibilities of power very well. We shall see, we are learning from the mistakes of other countries. However, the characteristics that make many of us good members of the clandestine struggle are not necessarily those that make us good leaders in the subsequent phase. I do not know what will happen, we are in precisely that transition phase.

[EXPRESSO] You also stated that at this time categories are becoming more fluid, struggles more complicated and alliances more sophisticated. You were there in May, what was your impression of your return, after 24 years?

[Sachs] On the one hand, there were "old-fashioned" things that I liked very much. There was a great deal of emotion, many hymns. And, thinking certainly of the "young lions," the youngest generations that had suffered a great deal from torture, in the demonstrations many shouted, "Roar, lion, roar!" I responded, "Think, lion, think!" because at this time there is a greater need to reflect than to roar. We have to be more flexible.

[EXPRESSO] You are a member of the ANC Constitutional Commission, which juridically supports the movement's delegation in negotiations with the government. What are the basic principles of a democratic constitution for South Africa?

[Sachs] Of course, everything I say is my exclusive responsibility. The ANC encourages me to speak like this, since I can better express my own personal opinions...and later, of course, receive the criticisms as well (laughs).

Someone said that a constitution is the autobiography of a nation. We are writing our autobiography, not only personal but national as well. Everything I learned as a lawyer in South Africa, as a teacher in England and the United States, as a researcher in Mozambique, is now irrelevant. We are in the open sea and it is we who must chart the ship's course.

We want a nonracial and democratic society. But that is the foundation of everything. All South Africans will fit in it, regardless of color, language or origin, ethnic background, race or creed.

[EXPRESSO] Those factors have of course been established. And the others?

[Sachs] There are two fundamental problems. One is how to guarantee that in a multicultural society, with many creeds and parties. The latter aspect is not difficult, we have the means of guaranteeing it. But the cultural part is more complicated. We have fought for the right to be partners, for equality of human beings, but also for the right to be different. With regard to civil, legal and political rights, we are South Africans and equals. But we can be different when it comes to

speaking our specific language. All languages would be official with English possibly being the administrative language of record. That is my position.

A system would have to be created that would recognize the various forms of personality and culture. We do not want a homogenized citizenship, with a single culture.

[EXPRESSO] The great social discrepancies pose certain impediments to that plan.

[Sachs] That is the second problem: to guarantee individual rights, liberties and guarantees on the one hand, and on the other to deal with the great national problems of inequality. There are two societies in my country: the white, which possesses everything, and the black, which has practically nothing with respect to health, education, housing. That will require a great national effort, to respect the interests of the majorities without violating the rights of individuals. I do not think it will be so difficult, if fundamental rights form the basis of the activities of a government of the majority. For example, if there were no free general elections, how could one say that it is the majority that is governing? That cannot happen, nor can a government at a given time stop being majority and permanently install itself through fraudulent elections that only serve to legitimize permanency in power. The freedom of expression and of organization are fundamental elements that will guarantee that this will not happen.

There are things, however, that will not be favored by the legislators. For me it is inconceivable that parliament could vote for a law permitting torture, as happened in my country. There are things that remain beyond the legislative authority of a majority.

[EXPRESSO] To reequilibrate South African society there will need to be certain compulsory reforms.

[Sachs] Necessary, yes. We prefer to avoid the word "compulsory," since we hope that everyone will participate in the transformation process. It is a more interesting strategy than requiring a minority to give in compulsorily!

[EXPRESSO] Just as the conversations between de Klerk and Mandela and the legislative reforms are important, there are parallel problems that are not to be neglected. On the one hand, the "white tribe's" mental resistance to admitting the new situation...

[Sachs] Many whites are overjoyed, desirous of calling themselves South Africans without having to carry the burden and shame of apartheid. Many others are little politicized and follow what President de Klerk says. There are even those who are in total confusion, but for that very reason they are neutral elements. And there are those who resist but constitute an insignificant minority.

There is the real possibility of a great harmonization of forces that will include everyone from the ANC to the Democratic Party and the National Party, the churches and the unions: 90 percent of the black and white

population against that handful that wants to resist. They are only dangerous because they are represented in the State apparatus and for that reason they have bombs and weapons available to them.

[EXPRESSO] And the confrontations between black ethnic groups, which have turned into points of tension?

[Sachs] The problem is not rival ethnic groups. The great bloodshed is among Zulus with political, not ethnic, bases; one part utilizes tribalism to defend the personal ambitions of their leaders, against another type of Zulu culture that is much more open, desirous of embracing the new South African reality. The solution is free elections. Then we will be able to see if Buthelezi has as many followers as he claims.

[EXPRESSO] And what do you think would be the ANC's electoral percentage?

[Sachs] Our problem is that we are too popular. Our adversaries do not look with favor upon elections in the near term. But perhaps two-thirds is as good a guess as any, certainly more than half. But one cannot only count our movement: we have the UDF [United Democratic Front], COSACO, which encompasses the unions, the churches. We prefer an extremely vast range of pro-democracy movements rather than having only one party in power.

[EXPRESSO] The armed struggle has naturally ended...

[Sachs] In reality it has almost disappeared, but there are those who always want to hear us say it. Now we do not want to say it, we prefer that it end than to say that it has ended. What do you mean by that?

[EXPRESSO] South Africa "is the country of our passion and our destiny." The passion has been expressed in the interview. But what about the destiny? What destiny does Albie Sachs have in the new country, how does he feel his body to be full of life and the new situation?

[Sachs] I feel very happy. No, more than happy: vibrant. It has always been my conviction to return to my country. I was there recently, but it is a bit brusque to definitively return in one single moment. Now I have returned emotionally. Regarding work, I will return in "installments." Let us say that now I have paid the "down payment," now I have to pay the installments (laughs). I will go there in August, then again in October and each time my work will be transferred there again and again.

[EXPRESSO] "It is not the most heroic act of my life, but it is the most worthy," filmmaker Miguel Littin said of his clandestine trip to Pinochet's Chile. Was your recuperation the most heroic act of your life?

[Sachs] It don't know if it would be the most heroic act of my life. It would probably be a banal thing for others. I also don't know if it was the most worthy... I would not use that word to describe my process of recuperation. I think it was perhaps the most admirable, the happiest,

the most interesting, the most curious, the most alive. Worthiness is another thing. I have worthiness to spare; I prefer to have less worthiness and more of the other things.

#### A Story Full of Laughs

"Nevertheless, today I know that I will tell the story well, in the African way, without hurry, emphasizing the small specific episodes that illuminate the multifaceted relationships, entering into details of human humor, irony and subtleness, proceeding slowly, in such a way that the plot will be totally prepared, and will also be full of interest and surprise."

This was Albie Sachs' plan when he began to write "The Gentle Revenge of a Freedom Fighter," a somewhat disquieting title, behind which is hidden a human adventure written with emotion, but also with authority and style.

Albie Sachs is no beginner in literary endeavors. During his life he has written 12 books, testimonies of ANC militants—"The Chained Island" won him the Martin Luther King Prize and "Prison Diary" was produced on stage in England—in addition to essays and legal studies. It is thus understandable that his plan for narrating his personal experience in struggling against death and his tenacious efforts in recuperating would also travel well. Albie Sachs said that he sat down at the typewriter with some doubts, but that the ease with which he composed the phrases, the clarity with which he expressed his thoughts and emotions then made him certain that he would finish the project.

Sachs' particular "eureka" is shared with the reader who, as he advances through the book's pages, discovers not only a writer—which really is miraculous in these times in which revelations are prepared by the marketing department—but a passionate book containing a fine adventure, and that, as the author himself tells us, "it is by no means a sad story, but rather a story full of laughs, and which has at least some personality."

Albie Sachs begins his tale describing the tremendous and sudden darkness that was the attack. He remembers that he was going to the beach, that the weather was nice, that the sun... Suddenly the world's hate was concentrated on his car, on the bomb attached to it. The

explosion was heard throughout Maputo. Only he, instantly blind, deaf and senseless, according to the opinions of those who ran to help, but maintaining consciousness, only he, perplexed, was unaware of what had happened, because as he was unable to ask the questions he mentally formulated, no one could give him an answer.

From the time of the explosion, the writer's hand, the only one he now has, becomes a subjective camera that takes us page by page through many worlds, psychological, physiological, and political. The sequences follow one upon the other, the rhythm is more than suggestive, the architectural structure is astute. We advance through the book as if it were a house, the protagonist is our friend, we follow him, inside, in the rediscovery of his body, his first bath, his crushes on the nurses, we witness the consummation of a beautiful and serene act of love, the acceptance of his mutilation, his strong faith in human beings. We know the life of exile, the love of a good view, the sensual understanding of beauty, in the end compatible with militancy, and the persistent conviction that whites will also be beautiful in South Africa, after they cease to consider blacks ugly.

Albie Sachs' narrative personality is without exaggeration powerful. He dominates the words because he dominates the ideas; he knows the concepts and knows life. He also knows literature, the generous mother of attentive sons. Sachs utilizes techniques and stylistic resources clearly beyond mere testimony or reportage, in this way offering a singular work that can be read as a novel, as a fragment of history—if history can be fragmented—as lucid memories of a time or as the intimate and autobiographical diary of an antiapartheid militant who accepts living under exceptional circumstances because he is striving for normality for his life and his country.

"The Gentle Revenge of a Freedom Fighter" could even be read as a poem to life, a beautiful, intense, lyrical and happy poem that begins speaking of a man who decides to go to a beach and ends, two years later, at the moment when, having regained the beach, physically diminished but morally strengthened, the same man is able to write a dream in the sand: "That the day may arrive when all men walk in bathing suits, with nowhere to put their guns."



## Angola

### Army Chief Denies Claims of Chemical Warfare

*MB3008201290 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] The FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] chief of General Staff this afternoon categorically denied UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] Lisbon claims that the Angolan Air Force has been bombing its bases in southeast Angola.

In a communique, the FAPLA chief of general staff reaffirmed the Angolan Air Force has never used chemical weapons, adding this has been proven beyond any doubt.

Moreover, since the resumption of the peace talks, FAPLA returned to an active defense stance to facilitate the ongoing negotiation process. In turn, UNITA has been stepping up its armed operations against the people and sabotaging civilian targets to try and secure advantages for the talks.

The communique issued by the FAPLA chief of General Staff concludes by noting it is no accident UNITA is making this claim now, adding UNITA is trying to confuse the public and paralyze the whole peace process.

### Talks 'Not Encouraging'; Process 'Difficulties'

*MB3008210690 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance  
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and  
Central Africa 1910 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Commentary: "Who is blocking the peace process?"]

[Text] The Angolan peace process is currently facing serious difficulties preventing the materialization of hopes for peace.

Fortunately, nobody can stand in the way of peace for our country because that is the Angolan people's deepest aspiration. What peace do the Angolan people need? They need just and lasting peace that will guarantee the exercise of democracy within the framework of complete freedom in our country.

What is happening at the negotiating table is not encouraging, neither from a procedural viewpoint nor from the viewpoint of the issues raised at the talks. Somebody forgot about minimal international ethics befitting countries with respectable traditions. UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] was only informed about the composition of the RPA [People's Republic of Angola] Government's delegation to the third round of talks when it was much too late.

By contrast, UNITA had already fulfilled its duties. It announced in good time the names of the officials in its team and confirmed that the delegation had been sent. The RPA Government decided not to send Lieutenant

General Franca Ndalu, the team leader, and this necessarily changed the complexion of the talks. This sort of move has direct implications in the history of diplomacy.

In the face of that move, UNITA needed to readjust its team without however failing to observe the orders received from the UNITA leadership and the Angolan people.

The blame for the change in the nature of the talks must be laid squarely at the door of the RPA Government which, at the last minute, decided not to send its team leader to assume the major decisions required now for peace in Angola.

Every other explanation that may surface here and there amounts to a game of words that deserves no respect. It is also necessary and opportune that negotiation procedures be improved to prevent unnecessary embarrassments and problems that can only hinder the normal development of negotiation.

We might well go into details on this subject. However, given that we need to investigate current developments to find who was responsible for this crisis in the negotiation process—if we can call it that—let us firmly and unambiguously ask what prevented the departure of Franca Ndalu to Portugal: Could it not be that he is too busy preparing an offensive in southern and central Angola? His movements in the country leave no one in any doubt.

The statement made by RPA President Eduardo dos Santos at the opening of the organ known as the People's Assembly in Luanda on 29 August must be viewed in a more serious light. His theories concerning peace and the steps that should be taken at the talks are very contradictory.

First, he should not have spoken to end the march of the talks. He is not the bearer of good offices at the talks. To try so clearly to replace Portugal's role through the media is an act of bad faith toward Portugal and shows disrespect for the normal ethics of serious negotiation.

Second, the president of the People's Republic of Angola reiterated the already well known plan of clemency and integration. UNITA has categorically rejected that plan. What other name must we give Eduardo dos Santos' theories if he is still dreaming of disarming or demilitarizing UNITA to participate in a democratic process without specific content, without clarity in the electoral process, and without a framework of political principles that have been agreed on?

We only see the RPA Government make increasing demands on UNITA without, however, taking any steps to satisfy UNITA's interests.

The RPA Government's way of negotiation is a clear example of those who appear to fly the banner of negotiations while supporting and expanding war-mongering plans on the battlefield.



The soldiers of the RPA are already conducting aggressive operations against UNITA-controlled areas. It is not with the excuse of the so-called active defense that the international community would be fooled into taking sides. What is necessary is to counter the policies defended by Eduardo dos Santos.

Things are quite clear: The RPA Government does not want peace. The RPA Government is not flexible and is not interested in beginning serious talks with the other warring faction. All Angolan people must lay the blame with the RPA Government. It wants to prolong the war, bring more suffering to the Angolan people, and delay national reconciliation.

Eduardo dos Santos' 29 August speech bears witness to his warmongering and genocidal policies in Angola. Who is going to accept this situation?

Democratic people of the world in general, and the United States in particular: The RPA Government is falsifying the data of the Angolan problem. It is hindering the process for serious negotiation. It is demanding impossible things to block national reconciliation achieved through free, democratic, fair, and internationally supervised elections.

The RPA Government will not mislead people of good faith all over the world by simulating talks while actually pursuing militarist, warmongering, and genocidal policies reflected in its proposals to disarm UNITA and integrate UNITA elements in the society of the Luanda government, thereby evading a lucid, practical, realistic, and viable understanding.

Angolan people, UNITA militants: The RPA Government's policy can once again be clearly seen through Eduardo dos Santos' speech. He does not want peace. He does not want progress in our country. He does not want multiparty democracy. He is trying to hide behind obsolete dogmas and disguises.

Let us report these plays! Let us, Angolan men and women, stand together as real and believing patriots and let us firmly resist so there can be freedom, multiparty democracy, and a brilliant future for all Angolan people!

The Angolan people deserve victory! The Angolan people will win! Let us ensure our victory by uniting behind our beloved President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi!

Forward with the revolution now! UNITA forward now! UNITA—cohesion now! UNITA—quick!

#### **\* Role of Churches in Nation's History Surveyed**

90AF0594A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS  
in Portuguese 3 Aug 90 pp 48-89

[Article by Onofre Santos]

[Text] "Catholics and Protestants cannot join our party...perhaps there will be no churches in Angola 50 years

from now." This statement was made by Agostinho Neto in JORNAL DE ANGOLA on 22 May 1977.

People have a tendency to focus on the problem of peace in Angola as something that will come about as the result of a cease-fire agreement between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. Nothing could be further from the truth. In order to have peace, its seeds must find fertile soil in which to establish themselves, and neither MPLA, with its destructive Marxist-Leninist psychology, nor UNITA, with its physical guerrilla war, has made the best contribution toward making the soil more fertile, ready to receive in its belly the first fruits of the future.

In the end, it has been the churches, as a group, that through their actions, have consistently lined themselves up on the side of the broadest and most profound movement for the liberation of the Angolan people.

Today this is more visible than ever. It did no good for Lucio Lara to say, at the height of the revolutionary euphoria, that although Marx, Engels, and Lenin had not been born in Angola, the same could be said of the Christ, about whom so much had been preached to the Angolans.

Appropriately, Emilio de Carvalho, the first Angolan bishop of the United Methodist Church in Angola, said in 1978: "The task of the Church is not to combat an ideology, nor to conceal the difference between Christian beliefs and Marxism-Leninism, much less to minimize the consequences that a process such as now underway in our country can have for the Church. The task of the Church is to present the liberating Gospel as something that is relevant to all aspects of Angolan life and society, and as a balancing factor between the men and women, young people and children, of our homeland. So in the eyes of the Church, religion will cease to be a form of human alienation, of obscurantism, an opiate or illusion, and will become a vital factor in liberation and genuine emancipation."

This is a liberation and emancipation that also entailed a triumph over Marxist and Leninist ideas, new factors subjugating the Angolan people, and other forms of domination.

So it is understandable that the official Luanda press attacked the Catholic bishops who met in Lubango back in December 1977, when the MPLA Congress was meeting in Luanda that same day. The "Lubango conspirators" were reminded then of the provision enacted by the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee, which said that "any activity that tends to set religious faith or beliefs against the transformation of society" was "illegal and, therefore, a punishable offense."

But the Party underestimated the force of an inexhaustible torrent that is fed by a distant and eternal source—that river with so many currents, as it is so aptly

described by Lawrence W. Henderson in his recently-released book entitled "A Igreja em Angola" [The Church in Angola], published by Alem-Mar.

Although explaining their divisions, Henderson also relates how the churches bind together and embrace the different peoples of Angola.

#### Divisions Acknowledged

"My first premise is that Christ the Lord founded a Church in Angola. The debates will continue as long as the members of one church persist in saying: 'I belong to the Catholic Church,' or 'I belong to the Methodist Church,' or 'I belong to the Kimbangu Church.'"

"In order to honestly record the history of Angola, these divisions must be acknowledged, described, and analyzed; however, I continue to affirm that the Church is one body. In fact, and to my great surprise, I came to the conclusion that, despite the differences in the organizational and doctrinal realm, and taking into account the geographical isolation during the colonial period, certain patterns of church establishment and expansion were common to all parts of the Church. The conviction that the Church is in fact one, and only one, body became keener, so that I came to recognize the evidence of its unity."

The foregoing are some of the introductory passages from the above-mentioned book.

Henderson and his wife were appointed missionaries to Angola in 1947, and worked there as Protestant missionaries until 1969, when they left on vacation and were denied visas to reenter Angola.

Henderson's book is an indispensable aid to anyone who wants to understand Angola and its people during this century of social and political upheaval. We will reproduce certain excerpts here, to convey an idea of the importance and current validity of the consideration that the Church in Angola deserves to receive from all quarters.

It is not difficult to understand, after reading the book, how the religious sphere influenced the political, and vice versa. We were particularly struck by the concept that the winds of ecumenicism on which this book transports us may be the foretaste of political unity in Angola since, as we said earlier, the various religious origins of the heads of the liberation movements are clearly identified in it.

#### Animist Inspiration

The Angolan people were at first classified as animists. The spirits, the ancestors, are as real in the everyday lives of these peoples as the persons who are still living. Ironically, however, this is the fundamental sentiment that the entire Bible—the holy book that, for centuries, missionaries carried under their arms on their African wanderings—passes over.

The Angolan people whom the missionaries came to proselytize were, in their heart of hearts a Biblical people—and, in fact, Henderson observes that this was true.

"When the missionaries arrived in Angola in about 1870," (Henderson begins his history with that decade, although he refers to the evangelizing begun in 1491 by the Catholic missionaries), "they did not know they would be planting the Church in soil that was religiously very rich in religious terms. They classified traditional African religion as superstition, since it did not contain the elementary principles of Western religion, i.e., doctrinal principles, an ecclesiastical structure, and the Scriptures. However, as the missionaries learned the language of the people in whose midst they were working, they were led into direct contact with the 'universe' of the African religion."

"Early on they noticed that those peoples used one word to designate God. In Kikongo, Kimbundu, and Chokwe, this was 'Nzambi.' The Umbundo called the supreme being 'Suku,' and the Ambo referred to God as Kalunga. The Herero combined the names 'Nzambi-Kalunga' and the Nhaneca-Humbe shared the name 'Suku' with the Umbundo and 'Kalunga' with the Ambos."

"Not only were Nzambi, Suku, and Kalunga very well known, but the characteristics attributed to the divinity were not incompatible with the Christian vision of God. Actually, it was by using terms from Christian theology, such as omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent that some missionaries and European anthropologists described the nature of the higher being in the African cultures."

"These attributes were discovered in proverbs and ritual practices employed by the various peoples of Angola. The Ambo, for example, described the omniscience of God in the following proverb: 'Kalunga has long ears and his eyes see in the dark.'" Henderson cites a series of proverbs that would be delightful to transcribe here, but we think it best to refer the reader to his book which, despite its almost 500 pages, can be read in one sitting, after which one would go back to reread and ponder certain chapters.

Henderson's thesis in this review of the church in Angola is that the Church has a dual nature: the human and the divine aspects. According to him, "Church historians and theologians focus so exclusively on the Church as a divine institution, that they do not recognize its profound interaction with the economic, political, and social institutions."

Another very interesting aspect of Henderson's book is its ecumenical nature: he describes the planting in Angola of churches from the various denominations, a phenomenon that occurred beginning late in the last century and precisely coincided with another phenomenon—the colonization that became known as the "Race to Africa."

"Angola constituted one of the vertices of the 'Race to Africa,' with the Portuguese, French, Belgian, German, and British interests clashing at the mouth of the Zaire river." The intensification of missionary activities in Angola coincided, then, with the mobilization and concentration of economic and political interests in the African region.

The evangelization process begun by the Portuguese almost exactly 500 years ago, (1491-1991), and described in the book by Dom Manuel Nunes Gabriel, entitled "Angola Cinco Seculos de Cristianismo" [Angola: Five Centuries of Christianity], (published by Literal), was not only lengthy, but arduous and frustrating. When we read the account by this former archbishop of Luanda, we are surprised how so few people, working under such adverse conditions—especially in terms of weather—managed to carry out a mission that sometimes gives us the impression it will sink entirely beneath the waves, but then, shortly thereafter, reappears like a little light in the middle of the forest.

That is why the words of Dom Moises Alves de Pinho, first archbishop of Luanda, pronounced at the beginning of this century, are understandable. "However productive and blessed our work may be, it will always be incomplete and without guarantees for the future, if its primordial object is not the planting of the Church."

It was at the turn of the century that the tide of Christianity rose, accompanying all the euphoria of the discovery of Africa. In Angola, that tide formed a big river that became wider and wider as it was joined by several other streams, of which the Catholic Church was the first in terms of time and would come to be the broadest, although Henderson does not consider it to be the deepest.

#### Five Currents

Henderson believes that one can identify five currents in what he terms "this vast river." He uses these to classify and integrate the many different churches that were established in Angola. In theory, they tend toward unification; they have the same source, i.e., faith in one God, regardless of the name by which He is known. The first, the Roman Catholic, "is the most visible current, one that at first glimpse appears very deep and extremely strong, but which some Catholic leaders fear may be only 'on the surface.'" The second current is composed of the "missionary" Protestant churches. "Apparently quite homogenous, it exhibits some variations "that served to give rise to two Protestant associations, the Evangelical Alliance of Angola and the Angolan Council of Evangelical Churches. [quotation marks as published]

The third is the Pentecostal current, which came to Angola more recently but has experienced very rapid growth and expansion. In Angola, these churches are the Assembly of God and the Pentecostal Evangelical Mission of Angola.

As the fourth current we have the apostolic churches, which resemble the missionary churches and the pentecostal movement.

The fifth and final current is formed by the Missionary Churches: the Kimbangu and the Toco. Founded by two Simons—Simao Kimbangu and Simao Toco—these churches are characterized by the configuration of those prophets as messiahs whose importance, in their churches, exceeds that of Christ.

All these currents, dominated by their human and divine aspects, form the context for a narrative of extraordinary adventure in the kingdom of God in Angola. We found it impossible not to be moved by the story of Reverend Jesse Chipenda. When, in November 1968, he was transferred from the Luanda prison to Sao Nicolau, his wife went to the prison with two other women who wanted to see their husbands, but did not get permission to see Reverend Jesse who, according to the authorities, had not completed his "orientation period." Only then would he be allowed to receive visitors. Teresa Chipenda returned to Bela Vista, and never saw her husband again.

He died in prison on 24 October 1969, without any member of his family present. "He expired in the arms of his brother in Christ and great friend, Rev. Frederico Mussili." On Christmas Day, 1968, he had written to his friends: "My health is good; my feet are swollen, but I am not concerned about that. I consider my coming here to have been a blessing from God. If I had stayed at Dondi, I would never have had the privilege of making contact with Christians from all over Angola. We have Christians from everywhere here—from Cabinda in the North to the Cuanhama region of the South, and from the Atlantic coast to Dilolo, on the eastern border. Here God is adored by all the tribes. Here we realize more fully the importance of the Church in Angola."

After all that, how can one not have faith in the church in Angola and in its people?

And how can one fail to recognize that all the churches form a single river that has been the great navigable waterway for all Angolans, regardless of their political and doctrinal beliefs for almost 500 years, even when, paradoxically, they may have denied it and even fought against it?

#### Movements and Churches

So it is not surprising that the liberation movements, and particularly their leaders, all have special ties with some of the churches that were planted in Angola.

In one part of his book, Henderson tells the story of Nekaka, who played an important role in planting a church among the Kikongo people, the Baptist Missionary Society. The story of this young slave of a king's counselor in Sao Salvador deserves to be told, but it will have to wait for another time. However, it is here that we find the religious roots of Holden Roberto, the man who organized UPNA [expansion unknown]—which then



became UPA [Union of the Angolan People]—in order to extend the movement to include all the peoples, not just those in the north of Angola. Later, he would form FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola].

"Agostinho Neto, in turn, was the son of a Methodist minister, educated in a Methodist environment, a student at Methodist schools, secretary to a Methodist bishop, and holder of a scholarship from the Methodist mission." Although he had left the Christian faith, Agostinho Neto set up his party like a church, which is the reason behind the requirement for admission of party members, the "confirmation" of the young people in the MPLA youth organizations, the so-called "rectification process" applied to the militants, and the renewal, conversion, confession, and examination of new members. Even the Ten Principles of the MPLA pioneers were entirely inspired by the Ten Principles of the young Christians.

Henderson collates these similarities, and they are certainly striking.

Savimbi's origins were also deeply steeped in a religious mission. His alma mater was Currie Institute, in Dondi. Savimbi's father, Lote Malheiro, had also been a student there and later, as a layman, served as director of the Chilesso mission. His story, too, is extremely odd and interesting.

In a speech Savimbi gave in Dondi in 1975, he said he was paying tribute to missionary Eduardo Daniel Ecundi, "our predecessor in the struggle for the independence of Angola."

Savimbi's religious background is also very unusual since, after leaving Dondi, he attended the Marist high school in Lubango, which was run by the Catholic Church. Back in Dondi, after the installation of the transitional government, Savimbi—in contrast to Neto—said that he still believes "in that same God who sees all that we do."

The politicians' canoe moves along the great river of the Church; the waters are rough at times, but it keeps sailing in the same direction. Even Agostinho Neto, speaking to Dom Zacarias Kamuenho, bishop of Sumbe (Novo Redondo) said as much: "... We cannot ignore the reality that is the Catholic Church here."

"As a liberation movement and as a political movement, naturally our objectives are different. They are different, but there are points of coincidence."

Ecumenicism, the liturgical experiences that unite the bishops and dignitaries of various beliefs, are a sign of the unity and the truth of the Church. Unfortunately, however, in both religion and in politics, things are still as Henderson observed: when all is said and done, although everyone confesses that the Church is one body before God, in practice, each one would like to say that "the true Church is our church—and all the churches that want to join us."

Still we have faith that the Church, always present in the history of Angola, will continue to be a primordial factor in bringing all Angolans closer together, and an indispensable, essential, point of reference for their unity.

It is time now to recall the prophecy made by Simao Toco, and cited by Henderson in his book. Personally exhorting the three leaders of the liberation movements, he told them that either they must join hands to work together for their country, or the country will be brought to its knees by a genuine tragedy. May Simao Toco, speaking now from the side of the absolute truth, inspire them—and all of us—to sail onward toward peace.

### An Offer of Solidarity

The foregoing article by Onofre Santos is so interesting and informative that no additional comments would be necessary. But just this moment we received a copy in our mailbox—which, fortunately, is getting too small to hold all the correspondence—of a letter dated 26 July, addressed by the Congregation of the Holy Spirit to the presidents of the RPA [People's Republic of Angola], UNITA, and Portugal, and to the Portuguese prime minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs. Coincidences...that must be used to advantage. Here is the letter.

"The Congregation of the Holy Spirit has been in Angola since 1866. Since then, hundreds and hundreds of its missionaries have devoted their best efforts, not only to preaching the Gospel, but to fostering the integrated development of the people of Angola.

"The history of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit in Portugal is largely bound up with the history of its presence and actions in the service of the Church and the people of Angola. Many missions and churches—but also schools, colleges, hospitals and, especially, many crosses in various cemeteries—attest to this dedication of the missionaries of the Holy Spirit to the Angolan people.

"Today, more than ever, they feel solidarity with the Angolan peoples and they partake not only in their suffering, caused by the war, but also in their undying hope for peace. Because they chose to stay with the people and suffer with them, some have paid with their very lives, while others bear the marks of their courageous choice on their own flesh. All, however, are familiar with and feel close to the trials and hardships that the present conflict between Angolan brothers has inflicted on practically everyone in that country. It has cut down thousands of lives, and drags along with it this dramatic spectacle of the mutilated, the displaced, the starving, the orphans, and the countless broken families—not to mention an economy that has been completely destroyed.

"It is for this reason, and in a spirit of communion with the destinies of Angola, that the delegates to the Fifth Provincial Chapter of the Missionaries of the Holy Spirit in Portugal feel it is their moral duty to:



- 1. Express satisfaction with the efforts already made by the parties to the conflict with a view to ending the war and bringing about a reconciliation in the Angolan family.
- 2. Remind the moral authors of the war, on both sides, of their responsibility for all the aforementioned miseries and for all the violations of the most basic human rights that a civil war like this one necessarily provokes, and of which the Angolan people are the defenseless victims.
- 3. Appeal for the proclamation and immediate implementation of a cease-fire, and for a greater spirit of dialogue within each of the parties. These are indispensable in the search for a platform of political and social coexistence under which all opinion groups and sensibilities, and especially all persons, are respected.
- 4. Express the desire for more fervent dedication by the Portuguese Government and the Portuguese people, not only in support of the peace efforts, but by offering the best of their solidarity—both in solving the immediate problems of Angola and in rebuilding that country and its society.
- 5. Continue to offer its own support, by every means available to it, to this rebuilding of an Angola in which all people may feel fortunate to live.

### Mauritius

#### \* Opening SA Trade Mission Reconsidered

90AF0572A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
2 Aug 90 pp 1, 4

[Article by Jacques David]

[Text] The question of opening a South African trade mission in Mauritius surfaced again this week, just after the authorities in Pretoria made the decision to close their consulate in Reunion. In certain circles, there is some surprise that the entire issue should be brought up again, now that the attention of the citizens of Mauritius is for the most part focused on the possibility of a constitutional amendment making the island of Mauritius a republic. A number of sources have confirmed to LE MAURICIEN that as of this week, the government authorities in Mauritius have reopened the file on this issue of establishing a South African trade mission in Port Louis. And they added that the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement], the electoral partner of the MSM [Mauritius Socialist Movement] in the coming general elections, would not object to this possibility, believing that the island of Mauritius might profit tremendously from the new more open policy the South African Government is pursuing at present.

The South African authorities have recently decided to close their consulates in a number of countries. Bruce H. Knoefel, the South African consul closest to us, on the island of Reunion, explained in a statement that as of August, the consulate there will close its doors "for economic reasons." He was to add that "the economic situation in South Africa is hardly brilliant, and the

funds for maintaining the diplomatic missions can no longer be found. A number of South African diplomatic missions abroad will suffer the same fate, for example that in La Paz, Bolivia." Although the closing of the consulate in Reunion was demanded by leftwing anti-apartheid organizations, Mr. Knoefel denied that this decision was dictated by political considerations. He added, moreover, that the policy adopted by Pretoria might seem in contradiction with the policy of openness adopted by Pretoria toward the islands in the Indian Ocean, more particularly Madagascar and the Comoros.

We have learned that it is to seize the opportunity for greater pragmatism in the trade relations between Port Louis and Pretoria that the government of Mauritius is seriously considering the possibility of establishing a trade mission in Mauritius. Henceforth, we have learned, following the closing of the consulate in Reunion, the citizens of Mauritius wishing to pay a brief visit to South Africa will not need visas. We are informed that the citizens of Reunion who wish to visit Mr. De Klerk's country will have to apply for visas through the South African diplomatic representation located in France.

It is believed in business circles in Mauritius that the possibility that a South African trade mission will be established here follows the logic of things. On the one hand, with the changes that are currently occurring in South Africa, and above all with the prospect of a change leading to a government that would be more flexible on the issue of apartheid, the island of Mauritius must set a real example of pragmatism in this part of the Indian Ocean. If Madagascar and other countries in the region make their policies more flexible in relation to the South African policy, the island of Mauritius, which has always maintained trade exchange with Pretoria, should not adopt the opposite attitude.

The prime minister, Sir Anerood Jugnauth, has emphasized in a number of statements to the press that "disruption of the economic links to South Africa would be suicidal." In a statement to Reuters, the prime minister made it clear that "we must be realistic, and we must maintain our relations with South Africa for economic reasons." More recently, the prime minister even noted that the relations between Mauritius and South Africa date back to the 17th century, and that the turnover total for trade between Port Louis and Pretoria comes to 1.2 billion rupees. He also said that South Africa is "one of our best customers, one of our best partners on the African continent."

#### \* More on Commercial Legation

90AF0576A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
3 Aug 90 pp 1, 4

[Article by Jacques David: "Nababsing and Berenger Interested in Discussions With SAJ [Sir Anerood Jugnauth]"; first paragraph is LE MAURICIEN introduction; boldface passages published in English]

[Text] LE MAURICIEN's 2 August report pertaining to the opening of a South African trade mission in Mauritius is at the center of some discussions. This information was confirmed this morning by MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] Secretary General Paul Berenger who had been asked to explain the MMM position on this matter. He confirmed that the matter had been discussed anew over the past few days, following South African President Frederick de Klerk's request to Mauritian Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth, during the recent meeting of these two leaders in Cape Town. However, Paul Berenger added that South Africa would like to see an office without any official status established on Mauritius and that the Mauritian Government is faces two choices.

It has now been confirmed that Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth and Prem Nababsing, the leader of both the MMM and the opposition, together with MMM Secretary General Paul Berenger, have discussed on two occasions, last Monday 30 July and Thursday 2 August, Frederick de Klerk's request submitted to the prime minister in Cape Town at the beginning of the year. The request for the opening of a South African Trade Office was recently renewed. It was reiterated once again over these past few days due to Pretoria's decision to close, for economic reasons, a certain number of consulates worldwide.

According to Paul Berenger, the government is faced with two choices: rejecting the demand, due to the ANC's [African National Congress] widespread campaign aimed at maintaining the sanctions against the South African regime, and in such a case Mauritius would comply; or "accepting it on the condition" that the Mauritian Government would reject De Klerk's demand should the dismantling process of apartheid fail. The government is currently waiting to see how the situation in South Africa will develop, especially since permanent contacts are being maintained between the government and the ANC, more particularly with Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki who is acting as the ANC adviser in foreign policy matters.

The latest telephone conversations between Mauritian and ANC officials took place on Sunday 29 July. The head of the government and the MMM are awaiting the ANC "feedback," especially following Mandela's and Mbeki's worldwide tour and the negotiations between the ANC and De Klerk. Consequently, the involved parties think that all the obstacles hindering this situation could be removed and next Monday 6 August could be the determining stage for all parties implicated in South Africa. According to Berenger, it is expected that, under these circumstances, Mauritius will play an important role in the dismantling process of apartheid. Meanwhile, the MMM and the MSM [Mauritian Socialist Movement] continue to have some reservations before deciding how to respond to De Klerk's request.

### \* Concern Over Possible Oil Shortages Discussed

90AF0572B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
3 Aug 90 pp 1, 4

[Article by Leon Baya]

[Text] The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq has caused great concern in various Mauritian circles, and particularly at the State Trading Corporation (STC), where it is feared that our supply of oil products will be blocked. Communications between the STC and the Kuwait Petroleum Corporation (KPC), which shares the Mauritian market equally with Shell, have been interrupted.

When questioned this morning, the manager of the STC, Bijaye Ghoorah, who was accompanied by the trade and marketing manager, Mahmood Cheeroo, said that the Mauritian corporation tried in vain yesterday and this morning to make contact with the general headquarters of the KPC. Nor had he received any information from his supplier. "The situation is made even more confusing by the fact that we do not know if the invasion of the country by Iraq was encouraged from within. According to reports we have just received from London, none of the contracts signed by the institutions in these countries are valid any longer if Kuwait has lost its sovereignty," the STC officials told LE MAURICIEN.

These officials have already informed Minister of Trade Dwarkanath Dungan about the development of the situation and the alternatives available in the event of a drastic interruption of the supply of oil products from the KPC. The next KPC shipment is expected at the beginning of next month. "We hope to have very accurate information about the developments in the next two days. But we are already preparing for every eventuality. If the situation were to so require, we could turn to Shell, with which we have excellent relations, so that there will be no imbalance in our supply and in the market next month," Mr. Ghoorah said. He explained that supply should be adequate for this month, because the STC has just obtained confirmation from Shell in London that a tanker will reach Port Louis on or about 15 August. The STC gives assurance that the minimal stock required for three weeks' consumption is available.

The KPC and Shell share a market that purchases approximately 525,000 tons of oil products (55,000 tons of gasoline, 140,000 tons of heavy oil, 165,000 tons of kerosene, and 170,000 tons of diesel fuel), representing a total of \$80 million (about 1.2 billion rupees). Provided Kuwait has not lost its sovereignty, the KPC could invoke the "acts of God" clause if the contract is breached. It could even, in the event of a supply problem, negotiate "swaps" with other suppliers to avoid any delay in the deliveries. The problem is whether or not there is a decisionmaking center.

The problems in Kuwait had the effect yesterday of pushing the up the prices of oil products on the international markets. For example, there was an increase of \$30 per ton (from \$241 to \$271) for finished products,

while on the crude oil market, the increase was about \$2.50 per barrel (from \$20 to \$22.50).

"The price question becomes secondary in such a situation. But I must emphasize that for Mauritius, retail prices are not automatically linked to the prices on imports. Any change in the prices is the responsibility of the government," Mr. Ghoorah said.

## Mozambique

### Geingob Expresses Support for Peace Efforts

MB3008191690 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob has reiterated his country's support for the Mozambican government's peace efforts.

In a joint communique issued in Maputo today, the Mozambican and Namibian prime ministers expressed profound concern about the wave of violence that has killed more than 500 ANC [African National Congress] and Inkatha tribal movement supporters in South Africa's black suburbs.

The joint communique, issued at the end of Namibian official's visit to Mozambique, Hage Geingob and Mario da Graça Machado saluted the positive steps taken by the government of President F.W. de Klerk and the ANC to end apartheid in South Africa. Both officials expressed the hope that a peaceful solution could be found soon to South Africa's apartheid problem.

### \* Crime Rate Rising Rapidly in Meconta

90AF0535C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
26 Jul 90 p 3

[Text] The crime rate in Meconta District has risen at a dizzy pace during the first six months of this year. Official information reveals that 64 criminal cases were reported compared with 37 cases chalked up during the same period of the previous year. This painful development in Meconta is described as being alarming, originating, on the one hand, from an influx of people destabilized by the enemy, and, on the other, from the fact that the administrative post in Namialo is a railway switch point which makes connections with the other districts of Nampula Province.

According to our correspondent, Francisco Victor, citing Alberto Mualavaca, political commissioner of the Mozambique People's Police in Meconta, the most obvious criminal cases are those involving voluntary and simple corporal offenses, simple and domestic squabbles, and drug trafficking, and others considered harmful to society.

Our source indicates that the biggest center for delinquency and crime is the administrative post of Namialo inasmuch as this is a transition point for citizens who

would like to relocate to the districts of Nacala-Porto, Namapa, Monapo, and other areas in the northern part of the province.

According to the district commissioner of police in Meconta, many people wait a long time for transportation to various destinations but without success. As a result, not having adequate preparation for the trip and not having any other means of sustaining themselves, they resort to crime to satisfy their requirements.

The commissioner of police in Meconta District stresses that the youth are the principal offenders inasmuch as most of the inhabitants in the Namialo area are in that group.

These being the majority of the residents and by coincidence the social stratum which has the highest unemployment rate, Alberto Mualavaca says that as a mere matter of survival, the youth resort to violence against defenseless people, assaulting and robbing anyone they can to satisfy their needs. This is one more result of the war, since the war does not make it possible for people to remain in a fixed area due to security problems.

"Given the number of cases involved, we are concentrating our attention on the Namialo area as this is where we find the highest crime rate," said Alberto Mualavaca, indicating that the police are making every effort to restore public order and tranquillity to this area.

According to our source of information, the combat against crime in this area of Nampula Province is beginning to have positive results through a plan involving the sectorization of areas considered most susceptible to delinquency and crime. Thanks to this program, it has already been possible to break up some of the criminal gangs operating in the area.

In addition to the aforementioned program, the police have enlisted the cooperation of the inhabitants of this area in denouncing any known criminals who may be seen operating in places of business or in the homes.

"We are mobilizing the people and workers in general for a massive participation in the denunciation and patrolling of residential areas inasmuch as we have perceived that the crime rate is beginning to reach alarming proportions. We are urging everyone to report all known criminal cases so that, in as short a time as possible, we shall be able to restore public order and tranquillity," said Alberto Mualavaca.

### \* Nampula Cotton Production Below Quota

90AF0535B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
26 Jul 90 p 3

[Text] Cotton production, one of our country's strategic products, may be seriously jeopardized this year in Nampula Province due basically to climatic irregularities associated with delays and/or shortage of bank financing and the proliferation of pests and snails, according to a report covering the first six-month period



of the provincial government and presented at the 7th Session of the Provincial Assembly.

The document states that during the first six months of this year, the target set for this strategic product, so important to the country's economy, was only 75 percent achieved due to the aforementioned factors, together with others, such as the lack of organization and efficient economic-financial management, obsolete machinery, and instability caused by the war, among others.

With further reference to agriculture, the principal activity of the country's development, the report says that during the period being analyzed agricultural production grew at a rate of 25 percent compared with the previous campaign, with emphasis on the cooperative, private, and family sectors.

With regard to the state sector, the production levels have been decreasing day after day and in the case of some of the crops, such as tobacco, the fault has been a lack of financing resulting from the disorganization experienced in previous campaigns.

Currently and again according to our source of information, the security factor enters into the picture: as an example, the armed bandits have destroyed more than 23 cotton driers belonging to the family sector in Monapo District.

According to the planting schedule, already more than six percent completed, there is a surplus in some crops, such as rice, manioc meal, "mapira," beans, and peanuts.

The seventh session of the Provincial Assembly, attended by deputies and guests, evaluated and approved the plan and provincial program of the past year and the first six months of this year, the report issued by the Provincial Directorate of Finance on the preparation of the 1989-90 budget and the provincial budget for next year, as well as information on the priority districts, the agricultural and marketing campaigns, and the preparations being made for the next cashew nut marketing campaign.

Moreover, during the seventh session of the Provincial Assembly in Nampula, the Permanent Commission terminated the duties of four deputies, three of whom had been transferred to another province, and one of whom had died. It was also disclosed that during the period between the present and last session the Permanent Commission had held five ordinary sessions in addition to a number of work visits made to the province's districts and cities. The fundamental reason for these visits was to observe the operation of the respective assemblies during which it was perceived with concern that many of these had difficulty discussing matters of financial and material substance.

#### \* Agriculture Minister Discusses State Sector

90AF0535A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
27 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] The debt which the state agricultural sector has with the banking sector, whose value is reaching 75,000 contos, is negotiable and healthy. In this regard, a study has been made and proposals drawn up for the establishment of feasibility contracts for state enterprises which would include a delay in the amortization periods and special treatment with respect to taxes and interest rates. This, among others, is one of the conclusions reached by the participants in a round-table discussion on this subject, which took place during a period of seven days in the capital.

Presided by Agriculture Minister Alexandre Zandamela, the round-table discussion decided that the sacrifices incurred by the enterprises in question should be shared by the state, banking sector, the enterprise system itself, and the workers.

Another conclusion reached by the participants at the aforementioned meeting concerns the establishment of associations between the state and the national partners in the form of joint ventures, companies, through shares held by the management personnel and the technicians of the anonymous state agricultural enterprises—SARL [limited liability corporation] and partnerships.

With regard to this subject, at the opening of the meeting the prime minister stressed the need to establish formulas which, over the medium and short term, will make it possible to cope with emergency situations and restore the normal balance needed to safeguard the national economy.

The meeting, attended by professionals of the agricultural sector at various levels, representatives of provincial governments, officials of the Ministry of Finance, and the governor of the Central Bank, had little in the form of deliberation. It served rather as an evaluation of the current status of the state agricultural sector and a delineation of proposals and recommendations aimed at minimizing the disastrous conditions plaguing the sector.

Of particular and worthy note is the courage displayed by some of the staff of the Ministry of Agriculture who, despite having lost some of their family members due to the prolonged ravages of the war, remained at their work stations defending the very existence of the state firms which were supplying the people with food.

Of the approximately 74 enterprises benefiting from bank credits, six of them had positive production levels, even considering that most of the infrastructures of those enterprises are worn out.

What is the solution for the Agricultural State Sector? In this connection and in his opening speech, Prime Minister Mario Machungo asserted that the positive economic results obtained by the agricultural enterprises in



the private and joint-venture sector, with foreign capital and the experience of Maputo's General Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, should serve as a reference point.

"We need to develop pluralism in the economic area and depolarize the social forces and negative feelings which have accumulated in the social sectors with regard to the state agricultural sector. We need to transform the country's agricultural aspect to one in which priority is given to the objective of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] party—namely, the production of sufficient food for our people, essentially food production, and solutions to the problem of poverty which we are experiencing, at times with negative effects on our country's social position," said the Mozambican official, addressing somewhat less than 50 participants.

Meanwhile, at the meeting which ended last Wednesday [25 Jul] it was stated that the state agricultural sector has an important role to play in national agricultural production and in rural development, which presupposes its redimensioning at levels compatible with the country's economic and financial status.

**\* Mauwa District Administrator on Emergency Needs**

90AF0534A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 27 Jul p 3

[Text] Joaquim Mario, Mauwa administrator in Niassa, told our reporting staff that 14,750 people out of the approximately 44,000 inhabitants of his district are in an emergency situation. "The others, who have some money, do not know where to go to purchase food, since the only merchant in Mauwa who has any supplies on hand can reach the area only by air, all access roads by land being blocked off," said the administrator.

Mauwa is a district in the interior of Niassa located near the extremely desolate area of Nipepe. According to Joaquim Mario, from 1980 until now the district has been serving as a sort of housing center. Mauwa has refugees from Unango, Marrupa, and Metarica, since one of the enemy's major bases is in Mauwa. That is why some of the people who escaped from captivity by the armed bandits have chosen this center.

The administrator of the Mauwa district asserted that due to the fact that the only merchant established in this area must deliver his goods by air, which happens very rarely, and that the quantities involved are sometimes insignificant, many people are going to other districts by foot in search of food.

"There are hundreds of people traveling by night through the jungle, covering hundreds of kilometers and incurring many forms of danger, including loss of life," he said.

He stated that there are people leaving Mauwa on foot, their destination being Cuamba, a distance of 150 km; others going from Mauwa to Marrupa, a distance of

about 100 km; and still others walking from Mauwa to Nipepe and thence to Lalauwa, a distance of 210 km, all in search of staples.

Joaquim Mario asserted that this puts Mauwa District in an alarming situation, isolated due to the uselessness of the access roads.

With regard to the military situation, Joaquim Mario said that last year the armed bandits kept the people from planting and this year the people had to abandon their crops due to raids by the bandits.

According to the administrator, the situation is now calm and the people feel more secure, even to the point of building a number of clinics and schools.

As to the district's health situation, Joaquim Mario stressed that due to the concentration of many people in unsanitary areas, there were many deaths in some localities, due principally to diarrhea, measles, and malnutrition; this occurred mainly from January to May of this year.

He said that the district has one clinic and three first-aid stations, whose personnel was trained by the nongovernmental organization known as the "Doctors Without Borders." The stations are generally moved from place to place to accompany the displacement of the people.

Concerning the scholastic network, there are only two schools which are considered permanently located; the other seven are moved from place to place to accompany the movement of the people, including both students and teachers.

**\* Nacala-Nichinga Railway Reopens**

90AF0534B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
27 Jul 90 p 3

[Text] More than 2,500 people elbowed their way Sunday, 15 July, to the Lichinga railway station to watch the arrival of the train carrying merchandise and passengers, an event which did not occur three months ago. The arrival of the so-called July train was the big news of the month throughout the city. Finally the train arrived!

About 0900 hours a loud whistle aroused the city from its usual weekend diversions: It was the train which was finally arriving after having departed from the Nicala railway port in May covering a distance of about 800 km. Lichinga had seen the last train leave in April of this year.

Thousands of the city's inhabitants rushed to the railway station to witness this event which they had awaited for weeks. In fact, our reporters had arrived in Lichinga one week prior to the train's arrival in that city and had noted that this event was the subject of conversation everywhere.

Phrases such as: "they say that the train is arriving day after tomorrow," "they say that the train has already left

Metande," "they say that the train is arriving this week," etc., etc. could be heard by everyone.

Therefore, when the train was approaching the city, no one stayed home for fear of being left out of the stories which would be circulated. All the trucks made it a point to come to the railway station: people went on foot, by bicycle, motorcycle, automobile.

There were sufficient reasons to justify this turn of events: Lichinga had been facing a chronic shortage of fuel and of basic products, such as sugar, and, hence, both the trucks entering the city and the train just arriving were eagerly received in the hope that one or the other of these methods of transportation would bring the needed supplies and put an end to the crisis.

Due to the railway's irregular schedule, the supply of goods to Niassa Province has been maintained through rather expensive methods of transportation.

Products to be delivered to that province are mainly unloaded at the Beira port and not at the Nacala port, as previously arranged. From the Beira port they are subsequently transported in trucks by Transcarga or some other carrier to Zimbabwe. They then reenter our national territory through Tete Province, whence they proceed to Malawi and later to Mandimba, employing the Mandimba-Lichinga national highway.

This journey of more than 1,000 km of highway is considered expensive, not only because the trucks, which arrive at Lichinga every 15 days, transport less than half of the province's needs (more than 1,000 tons per month) but also because the loads themselves are not adequately planned.

#### The July-Train Story

While at the Lichinga railway station, our reporters spoke with some of the passengers who had taken the train which arrived Sunday, 15 July, in Lichinga. They told us about some of the incidents which had occurred during the long trip which had begun in May in Nacala and had ended in July in Lichinga.

B. Malaia, switchman of the Mozambique Railroad North [CFMN], who was traveling in the maintenance coach with other workers of the Ministry of Roads and Works [MVO], related that the train left Nacala on 3 May and arrived in Cuamba on the 28th of the same month.

"However, having arrived at Cuamba and having made the switch to Lichinga, we met with adverse situations. In addition to the sabotaging of the rails and the burning of the cross-ties, the armed bandits had thrown sections of the rails into the jungle; and then we found some of the lines which were covered by the dense jungle; these had to be dug up and cleared," said Malaia, somewhat tired from the long journey.

He also said that the train was carrying more than 800 tons of cargo, including various types of merchandise,

certain quantities of fuel, and a number of passengers. "There were many episodes which occurred on this trip," said Malaia. "One was seizing the bridge in the Lichinga area 150 km from the city; the bridge was destroyed and this forced us to work day and night; the same thing happened in other areas, making it necessary to do cleanup jobs.

"During the Cuamba-Lichinga stretch the train had to move slowly because of an abundance of weeds along the road. We were attacked during the trip. We slept on the platform and each one ate from his knapsack. To cook we gathered wood from the jungle and each one prepared his own meal. I retained 20 kg of flour, a modest amount of rice, beans, and dried vegetables," he related.

He also said that one passenger became ill during the journey and died on 8 July. "We buried him in an abandoned cemetery in Itepela, in a funeral procession which included the family of the deceased, a military escort, and the remaining passengers, who expressed sorrow for the deceased. We dug a pit and buried him right there," he said.

According to Antonio Candrinho Adriano Arrojo, the only medical professional trained by the Mozambique Red Cross who was capable of providing medical treatment to the train's passengers, in the early morning of the day on which the aforementioned passenger died, a woman gave birth to a baby girl. "We were in the jungle," he said, "when the woman began to have labor pains. She was aided by some older women who were sympathetic and helpful."

In an effort to treat as many patients as he could, the medical professional traveled with an assortment of tablets for combating minor ailments, a quantity of aspirin, 250 grams of cotton, 250 grams of bandages, two tubes of ointment for minor wounds, and one tube of copaiba balsam.

According to Antonio Candrinho Adriano Arrojo, many passengers were afflicted with diarrhea, "but this was not the cause of the only death which occurred."

Albano Andre, a driver associated with the 400,000 Hectare Project who was in the railway station to meet a family member traveling on the train, asserted in turn that "to see a train here is like pure gold and when the train arrives, only one who does not manage to go there can appreciate what it means to stay away from the railway station."

He added that when the train was making a monthly trip to Lichinga, it "normalized the food and fuel situation, since the military entities are not managing to do so. Many agricultural enterprises failed due to the inoperability of the train," he said in conclusion.

**\* Nampula Displaced Persons, Emergency Statistics**  
*90AF0534C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese*  
*26 Jul 90 p 3*

[Text] A total of 50,000 people who were living under forced conditions with the armed bandits handed themselves over to the authorities of Nampula Province during the first six months of this year.

Moreover, it has been ascertained that the number of people victimized by the war in Nampula Province has been increasing and is now estimated to be about 200,000 totally dependent on charity. These people continue to need food and medical assistance inasmuch as they are suffering from malnutrition and weakened morale due to the harsh treatment they received during their captivity.

The nutritional needs of the displaced persons in Nampula Province are thought to be more than 3,500 tons of various products, whereas the DPCCN [Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters] in Nampula believes that only 800 tons will be available.

This means that steps must be taken to increase the quantities of food and medicines available—a situation which cannot be postponed.

To provide the province with regular assistance, a special group has been established at the national level. This group is responsible for evaluating the Emergency Program initiated by nongovernmental agencies, such as CARE [Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere] and COCAMO together with DPCCN.

It is known that CARE has been operating in the province since 1988, concentrating essentially on the training of DPCCN professionals.

## Namibia

**Army Appointment Allegedly Divides Cabinet**

*MB3108082690 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA*  
*in English 27 Aug 90 pp 1,2*

[Unattributed report: "Butcher Axed?"]

[Text] In the face of a serious rift within SWAPO's [South-West African People's Organization] top structure, the President decided at the last minute "to temporarily withhold" the announcement of Jesus Hawala as Chief of Staff of the Namibian army.

The urgency with which the President decided to "withhold" the announcement could be measured by the fact that a press release to the effect had already been prepared and delivered to the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation [NBC]. The NBC was then ordered to withdraw the announcement from its news bulletins.

But, THE TIMES was told by withholding the announcement, the President had not given up the intention to

appoint "the Butcher of Lubongo" into the job; he was merely hoping that the internal storm round the head of the internationally notorious head of SWAPO hell camps would subside.

The appointment of Hawala was said to have sparked the first serious government crisis, and drawing the battle-lines divided the Cabinet into "moderates" and "hardliners," with the "hardliners" supporting Mr. Nujoma's choice of Hawala as Chief of Staff.

Talks of resignation was rife among the "moderate" members of the Cabinet, should the appointment of Hawala go ahead.

But, said reliable sources, the proposed appointment encountered unexpected opposition, which caused the lines between "moderates" and "hardliners" to swift slightly.

The Ministry of Defence, which were formerly counted with the hardliners, were said to be unanimously and outspokenly opposed to the appointment of Hawala. This caused a serious split in the President's "security advisors," with the Deputy for State Security in the Office of the President Peter Tsheehama siding with the President in the matter of the appointment.

The Minister of Defence was recently involved in another disagreement within Cabinet, when it refused to take the "special constables" off the hands of Home Affairs Minister Lucas Pohamba.

It is known that the appointment of Tsheehama, who recently preferred to be known by the name Tshirumbu, caused some uneasiness among SWAPO's top structure.

The Angolan authorities allegedly requested SWAPO to have Tsheehama removed from Angola, after he had been involved in shooting incidents in Luanda. Tsheehama left Angola for Zambia, and then went to Cuba as a representative from where he returned to Namibia.

In circles opposing the appointment of Hawala, the torturer is known as "Tsheehama's man."

Hawala also enjoys strong support in SWAPO's influential organisational wing, under the leadership of party co-ordinator Moses Garoeb. A month ago, the organisational view was involved in an abortive demonstration against Prime Minister Hage Geingob. The object of their ire was Geingob's proposed multi-party investigation into the refugee issue. The investigation since grounded to a halt.

Solomon Jesus Hawala was deputy commander of PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] and chief of SWAPO security.

He started to rid PLAN of followers of popular Peter Nanyemba, after he died suspiciously in a car accident a day before a "party congress" in 1983.



The witchhunt soon obtained anti-intellectualist and ethnic overtones, with most of the "South African spies" being the better educated and hailing from the south. The witchhunt extended into the higher escalons of SWAPO, and Central Committee and Politburo members were not spared.

Throughout the spy drama, which only ended after the return of SWAPO leadership, Mr. Nujoma stuck [as published] with Hawala, frustrating all attempt by the rest of leadership to resolve the crisis. During one of the attempts to bring an end to the terror, Hawala apparently threatened the present Prime Minister into silence on the issue.

Since his return from Angola, Hawala stayed out of the limelight, allegedly being hidden away on a Brakwater smallholding.

#### **Ex-SADF Members Head Toward UNITA Bases**

*MB3108072590 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1010 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] Johannesburg, Aug 30, SAPA—The BBC reports that a large number of former South African Defence Force [SADF] members from Namibia are heading across the Kavango river towards UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] bases in Angola.

The SABC's [South African Broadcasting Corporation] Africa Desk reports that the former SADF members are taking their families and cattle with them, as they say there is no security for them and their families in Namibia.

UNITA has not disclosed the total amount of Namibians that are settling inside Angola.

The BBC also reports that the Angolan Government says it is worried about border security in the south of the country. An Angolan and Namibian border security joint-commission is to meet this week in Windhoek to discuss the matter.

#### **\* Cabinet Approves Local Handling of Oil Fund**

*90AF0587B Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA  
in English 5 Jul 90 p 3*

[Text] The Namibian Cabinet at its 13th meeting on Tuesday has approved in principle the Petroleum Products and Energy Bill, says the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting yesterday.

The Ministry said the aim of the Bill was to change the existing arrangement with South Africa concerning petroleum fuels.

Statutory provisions relating to petroleum products are presently contained in two acts inherited from South Africa—the Petroleum Products Act and the Central Energy Fund Act.

The provisions require Namibia to contribute to a series of funds which are kept in South Africa.

The funds—the Central Energy Fund, the Multilateral Motor Vehicle Fund, and the Equalization Fund—would be administered locally if Parliament passed the said bill when it has been tabled.

According to the Ministry, the amendment of the Defence Act of 1957 was also approved in principle by the Cabinet.

The Act provided for the establishment of the Namibian Defence Force, outlining its composition and organisation.

The other issue which the Cabinet has approved in principle is the amendment of legislation to enable Namibian lawyers trained elsewhere to practice law in Namibia.

#### **\* Misuse of Public Funds Alleged; Budget Delayed**

*90AF0587A Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA  
in English 2 Jul 90 pp 1, 2*

[Text] Reports and rumours of uncontrolled expenditure in various ministries have stunned Namibia's business community and economists. The amounts already disposed of reportedly run into tens of millions of rands.

The minister of finance is apparently saddled with the impossible task of submitting the budget retrogressively to incorporate extra-budgetary expenditures.

But, the trend is still continuing.

Rumours have it that moves are afoot to stop the report of the Auditor General, which is set to reveal massive ill expenditure of public funds.

Government officials who refused to be named have confirmed that ministers have personally shopped for luxury furniture for their government offices.

No approval was obtained for these expenditures. Government purchases were previously conducted through the Department of Manpower and Civic Affairs.

It is further alleged that foreign business concerns which have contributed to SWAPO's [South-West African People's organization] election campaign have access to government contracts for providing office furniture and equipment at exorbitant prices, without having to satisfy tender stipulations.

These purchases are not subjected to price controls, and are apparently payment for favours previously rendered to SWAPO.

The discrepancies regarding the budget, the inability of government to explain away unapproved expenditure (which will be reflected in the Auditor General's report),

have been factors in stalling the budget. The absence of policy in turn has had far reaching ramifications in local industry and commerce.

In anticipation of economic chaos, the uncertainties have apparently prodded business to opt for the "quick buck" option.

Meat prices, for example, have plummeted, because next year's cattle are slaughtered too.

Even pregnant cows are being slaughtered.

Capital expenditures are down by at least 30 percent, which reflects much of the uncertainty, and doubts assailing business as to what the future under a policyless government holds in store.

Reports have it that South Africa has warned the Namibian Government that it has only R50 [Rand] million left in reserve. According to analysts, the only way out of this is when the Government starts to print its own money in which case it will be worthless, and the economy is set to take a dive.

**The Gambia****Conference To Name Sawyer Liberian President**

*AB3008191790 London BBC World Service  
in English 1830 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] The meeting in Banjul between the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] Mediation Committee and interested Liberian parties, trying to set up an interim government for Liberia to be established if and when there is a cease-fire under ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group] control, has been moving toward a climax, although key representatives such as Charles Taylor's rebels and Samuel Doe have been conspicuous by their absence. On the line to Banjul, Mark Doyle asked journalist Peter da Costa what has been agreed:

[Begin recording] [Da Costa] Well, we are not certain what they actually have decided, but we do know that an interim government has been agreed on, and the names we have are Amos Sawyer of the Liberian People's Party as the president of an interim government; and as vice president, we have Bishop Ronald Diggs, who is the head of the Lutheran community in Liberia.

[Doyle] But this information has not yet been officially announced, or what exactly is the status of this information you have?

[Da Costa] The information has not yet officially been announced. But it is understood that Dr. Abass Bundu [ECOWAS executive secretary] has been to see President Jawara, the chairman of ECOWAS, and has conveyed that information to him. We got the information from sources inside the meeting.

[Doyle] Now how were these people actually selected? If indeed it is confirmed that they are the president and vice president, were they elected, or did Abass Bundu simply say: It is going to be you, or what happened?

[Da Costa] From what I can gather, the hope was that there would be a consensus so that there would not have to be a man-to-man election. But the news is that there was an election, and it is more or less a unanimous decision, but not quite a unanimous decision.

[Doyle] Have any other members of this interim government been named yet? Do you know?

[Da Costa] No, I understand that a list—a very short list—was given of potential candidates, and the cabinet may not be announced as yet because there are fears for the safety of the relatives of some of the delegates to this conference, that they might suffer reprisals from Doe or Taylor. [end recording]

**No Statement at end of Conference**

*AB3108104090 Dakar PANA in English 1013 GMT  
31 Aug 90*

[Text] [Text] Dakar 31 Aug (PANA)—The national conference on Liberia's political future ended in Banjul Thursday [30 August] without issuing a statement after four days of consultations and discussions by representatives of the country's political parties, interested groups and concerned individuals.

A Radio Gambia report Friday said that a formal conference statement was due to be published later Friday.

The report also said Dr. Amos Sawyer, a professor of political science at the University of Liberia, and Rev. Roland Diggs, the Lutheran bishop of Monrovia, went to see Gambian President Dawda Jawara, the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] chairman, at the end of the deliberations.

The two were accompanied to State House by the foreign minister of the Gambia, the deputy foreign minister of Ghana and the ECOWAS executive secretary.

The radio further reported conference sources as indicating that Sawyer was named by the conference as head of the interim government which would arrange for free and fair elections to be conducted in the country within a 12-month period. The radio also said Diggs would serve as his deputy.

Sawyer, whom Charles Taylor of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia has already named as a minister in his government, was also chairman of the committee which drafted Liberia's 1984 Constitution.

**Ghana****Rawlings Meets Envoys; Comments on Liberia**

*AB3108104790 Accra Domestic Service in English  
2000 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] The leader of the revolution, Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings, today received a message from the Malian head of state, General Moussa Traore, through his special envoy, Mr. Django Cissoko. During discussions which centered on matters affecting the security of the West African subregion, Chairman Rawlings emphasized the need for the responsible handling of the political maneuvers among the contending parties in Liberia in order to ease the task of the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] force.

The PNDC [People's National Defense Council] chairman stressed that it will not only be very unwise, but very dangerous for anybody to attempt to force down on the people of Liberia any political settlement package that will seem to ignore the consent and sensitivities of the polarized fighting forces on the ground, which have



painfully borne the pain, suffering, and frustrations of the political conflict. Irrelevant prescriptions, he said, will also be a waste of time, adding that we cannot afford that luxury. Lives are at stake.

General Rawlings also called on the international media to be cautious in its reporting of events in that country at this crucial moment so as to enhance a peaceful solution to the crisis. He observed that while concessions with the international media may be said to be providing the means for free expression of issues of interest, we should be sufficiently warned, however, that an irresponsible use of the media in publicizing developments in such a conflict by people unaware of or not sufficiently sensitive to the concerns among the feuding parties will only succeed in heightening the existing suspicions and thereby escalate the military hostilities. Such a development, he further said, will undermine the whole peace-seeking and peacekeeping concept, and lives will unfortunately continue to be lost. He stressed that the search for political solution should be seen as very essential in reducing the level and duration of hostilities and the period of time during which the ECOMOG force will be required in Liberia.

Present at the discussions were the PNDC member and chairman of the committee of secretaries, Mr. P.V. Obeng, and the secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Obed Asamoah.

Earlier in the day, Chairman Rawlings and his two colleagues also held separate discussions with Mr. Mohamed Wafa' Hijazi, a special envoy of the Egyptian president, and a West German member of the European Parliament, Mr. (Hartmund Penschal).

During the audience with the Egyptian envoy, Chairman Rawlings was briefed by Mr. Wafa' Hijazi on efforts by Egypt to mediate in the Gulf crisis because of Egypt's concern that the military buildup in the area could have far-reaching consequences.

In the discussions which followed, Flt. Lt. Rawlings commended the efforts by President Mubarak to bring a peaceful settlement to the crisis and urged Egypt to continue these efforts. He however observed that what is currently going on in the Gulf is the result of the contradictions and the double standards of past policies towards that region of the world.

Flt. Lt. Rawlings said that although the Iraqi action is lamentable, it could be seen as a product of the long history of humiliation of the Arab people. The PNDC chairman therefore holds that a way could be found to resolve the crisis and at the same time move steps closer to the resolution of some of the outstanding problems within that region. [passage omitted]

## Guinea

### Government Denies Plans to Support Liberia's Doe

AB3108082890 Paris AFP in French 1936 GMT  
30 Aug 90

[Text] Conakry, 30 Aug (AFP)—Guinean Foreign Minister Jean Traore has denied rumors that Guinea had wanted to intervene militarily in Liberia to support President Samuel Doe, before the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] was sent to that country. Speaking at a press conference, the minister said "it has always been the Guinean Government's belief that there can only be a Liberian solution to the Liberian crisis and that any attempt by a friendly or sister country to search for a lasting solution should be geared toward the reconciliation of all political parties and tendencies in Liberia."

In this regard, the minister added, "Guinea has chosen to defend the principles of national defense, democracy, and national reconciliation." It is for this reason, he said, that Guinea is involved in the ECOWAS solution, which is to establish a cease-fire, set up a monitoring force, install a transitional government, and organize free elections.

Guinean troops are, in addition to those of The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone, members of ECOMOG, the ECOWAS peacekeeping force that was sent to Liberia.

## Ivory Coast

### Riot Police Disperse Abidjan Demonstrators

AB3108100190 Paris AFP in English 0950 GMT  
31 Aug 90

[Text] Abidjan, 31 Aug (AFP)—Riot police fired tear gas and charged a crowd of about 4,000 demonstrators Friday [31 Aug] in Abidjan's business district who were demanding "true democracy" in the West African country. At least five people were injured by exploding tear gas grenades as the crowd fled. Several demonstrators were stopped for questioning.

All shops in the area closed up as the security forces moved in on two fronts to break up the demonstration, called by four leading opposition politicians. More than 80 armed soldiers stood by, but did not intervene.

The crowd later bypassed security forces and continued their march through the city towards the cathedral and the French Embassy.

The demonstrators shouted for President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, 84, to leave office, calling him "murderer" and "thief". They also protested against the arrival of Pope John Paul II September 9 to consecrate the 150-million dollar basilica built in the president's home village of Yamoussoukro, the country's political capital.

They demanded freedom of the press, a transitional government and the release of opposition leader Innocent Kobenan Anaky, considered the major financial backer of the Ivorian People's Front (FPI).

"This is democracy, these are the democrats," one angry protestor shouted, pointing at the riot police.

It was the first time a demonstration was organized jointly in the Ivory Coast's economic capital by opposition leaders Laurent Gbagbo of the FPI, Francis Wodie of the Ivorian Workers' Party, Zadi Zaourou of the Union of Social Democrats and Bamba Morifeere of the Socialist Party.

### **French Embassy Occupied; Calm Reported**

*AB3108124690 Paris AFP in French 1101 GMT  
31 Aug 90*

[Text] Abidjan, 31 Aug (AFP)—Some 300 demonstrators who took refuge inside the French Embassy in Abidjan to escape teargas thrown at them by security forces left the premises around 1015 GMT, an AFP reporter observed. They left in a procession led by French Ambassador Michel Dupuch accompanied by some embassy personnel. The ambassador had negotiated with the security forces the departure of the demonstrators "without clashes with the security forces."

Mr. Dupuch led the procession to a distance of about 300 km from the embassy, amid cheers from the demonstrators. The riot police, who had cordoned off the area, had withdrawn. Earlier on, helmeted riot police, had fired two volleys of tear gas some 10 meters away from the Embassy where several hundred demonstrators had gathered. It was then that about 300 of them surged into the diplomatic mission, chanting "Long live France" and "Ring Mitterand, we no longer want Houphouet." Dozens of others sought refuge in the lobbies of surrounding buildings. By 1045, the situation appeared to have returned to normal in the business district of the Plateau where the demonstration took place.

### **National, Burkinabe Role in Liberia Reported**

*AB3108115090 Paris AFP in French 0921 GMT  
31 Aug 90*

[Christian Spillman report]

[Text] Abidjan, 31 Aug (AFP)—The landing last week of an African force in Liberia and the increasingly active involvement of Burkina Faso on the side of the rebel leader Charles Taylor have given the Liberian conflict an international dimension which is risky for the subregion's stability, observers note. Five African countries—Nigeria, Guinea, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia—are participating in the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), the peacekeeping force set up by the Economic Community of West African States, a 16-member inter-African organization. Two thousand five hundred men and officers of these five nations, commanded by the 51-year-old Ghanaian, General Arnold

Quainoo, landed in Monrovia on Friday, 24 August and are trying, with some difficulty, to deploy themselves in the Liberian capital in order to retrieve some 2,000 Nigerian and Guinean nationals being held hostage in their embassies by rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL).

The arrival of this force at a time when Charles Taylor's men were failing to gain the upper hand in the conflict, has led Charles Taylor to request more active support from his "friends" in the subregion. The NPFL leader was frank on this issue. "The intervention of an African force in Liberia constitutes a blatant act of aggression. I have the right, under the circumstances, to request the assistance of anyone prepared to help me," he stated on 22 August at a press conference held at his headquarters in Harbel, 60 km northeast of the capital.

A big aircraft landed last Saturday, 25 August on the tarmac of the Robertsfield airport located a few kilometers away from Harbel, the AFP special correspondent reported at the time. The aircraft, according to well informed sources, came from Burkina Faso. Reporters who happened to be present at Harbel then were prevented from going to Robertsfield. On that very day, the NPFL "minister of defense," Mr. Tom Woewiyu, was in Ouagadougou where he met with Burkinabe President Blaise Compaore.

Another aircraft had landed a few days earlier at the same airport where it offloaded arms, ammunition, and about 15 Burkinabe soldiers, according to rebels who were present on their arrival. About 100 Burkinabe soldiers are believed to be currently in Liberia in NPFL-controlled areas, well informed sources have disclosed. These soldiers are mostly drawn from a district elite unit based at Po in southern Burkina Faso.

The NPFL leadership does not deny the involvement of Burkinabes in their movement. According to the NPFL, they are farmhands employed on plantations, mines, and project sites in the country and who have "joined the NPFL spontaneously."

They are not the only Africans involved in the conflict. Several Ivorians have also taken up arms and are fighting alongside Charles Taylor's men, reporters who covered the conflict from NPFL-controlled areas noted. These Ivorians, who are natives of the Danane region in northwest Ivory Coast, belong to the Yacouba tribe like the Manos and Gios who make up the bulk of the rebel army's battalions.

Many people in the Ivory Coast are now wondering about their country's involvement in this bloody conflict. Bartus Taylor, the younger brother of the NPFL leader, lives in Danane in a luxurious house where he lodges the Front's personalities on their way to Abidjan. Acting as a real "honorary consul" of the movement, he issues, at exorbitant prices, entry permits into "areas liberated" by the NPFL. Several reliable sources also talk of arms and ammunition being channelled through the Ivory Coast to the rebels.

The support given by Burkina Faso to Charles Taylor and the active neutrality of the Ivory Coast in the conflict are highly embarrassing the ECOWAS. Five African white helmets were wounded in Monrovia and Charles Taylor's determination to oppose their intervention by force of arms could further increase the casualties. No one can henceforth tell whether ECOWAS white helmets, who will fall in the course of their mission to Liberia, will not be victims of a weapon wielded by a Burkinabe or Ivorian "fighter."

#### **Paper Reviews 128 Days of Multiparty System**

AB3008113690 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN  
in French 25-26 Aug 90 p 1

[Yacouba Kebe commentary: "Multiparty System: The First 128 Days"]

[Text] Today marks the 128th day since our country returned to the multiparty system. Obviously, it is too early to take stock, even partially, of its progress. However, it is necessary to make some observations as general elections are just a few months away.

First, the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally [PDCI-RDA]: On the whole, the ruling party's behavior has been one of restraint and moderation in a particularly agitated climate in which it is the only target of the grouped attacks of an opposition that seems to be experiencing some kind of political "hysteria."

Certainly, some mistakes have been made here and there by some PDCI militants, but such mistakes are not as excessive as those made elsewhere.

The head of state and chairman of the PDCI-RDA, for his part, has remained loyal to his ideals of unity, fraternity, and solidarity. He has never ostracized the opposition. He intends to continue serving as the unifying factor he has always been.

Next, the opposition parties: 25 of these have been recognized so far. Those which have expressed themselves publicly, have done so in various ways. Some have been moderate and realistic while others have been radical and ideological.

Ivorians, even those who are not PDCI-RDA members, are upset over the way some political parties have treated the president of the Republic in public. They have made disrespectful statements bordering on insults against the head of state, guarantor of the republican institutions, and whose historical legitimacy cannot be challenged.

These excesses have tarnished the image of the young Ivorian democracy. One has the impression that Ivorians have ceased to be brothers and sisters because of the multiparty system, and yet democracy can be practiced perfectly without resorting to the use of foul language. One can express one's disagreement with an opponent without resorting to what [former Senegalese President] Senghor refers to as "unavowed personal attacks," and without

constantly calling for violent street demonstrations, and without political blackmail or show of strength.

Finally, policy statements: That of the ruling party is simple; change in continuity, or, as several militants demand, change and renewal. Self-criticism comes first before criticism of the opposition.

The opposition's policy statements include violent attacks and above all, unrealistic promises to the most vulnerable social classes. Farmers have been promised the El Dorado and the unemployed, work.

Should the practice of democracy authorize demagoguery and lies?

Certainly, all cannot be perfect within such a short time. But the initial signals indicate that there is the danger of the current statements being made by some political parties leading to a deep national rift, whose wounds, even if later dressed, leaving horrible scars. Our democracy must draw inspiration from our own cultural values. We should realize that what is accepted elsewhere, in the old democracies, is not necessarily transferrable here...

#### **Liberia**

#### **INPFL's Johnson Urges Peace in Nation**

AB3008120890 Dakar PANA in English 1125 GMT  
30 Aug 90

[Text] Dakar 30 Aug (PANA)—Noah Bodelo of Prince Johnson's Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), who arrived in Banjul Wednesday at the head of a 9-member delegation to the ongoing national conference on Liberia, reconfirmed his organization's support for the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peace proposal for Liberia.

According to Radio Gambia, Bodelo said Liberia had suffered long enough and all they wanted now was peace. Expressing his hope for a successful end to the national conference, Bodelo also said president Samuel Doe's continued stay in the Executive Mansion (Presidential residence) was a major stumbling bloc to a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict.

He called on the ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] forces to do something to get Doe out of the mansion adding that the INPFL would also like ECOWAS to set up a security system for Liberia which could take over the functions of ECOMOG once that force is withdrawn.

Radio reports said INPFL proposal on security envisages Johnson as head of a national defence force to which each of Liberia's counties would contribute 500 men.

The reports quote Bodelo as saying that the force was needed because, if the ECOMOG should stay too long in Liberia, it would be regarded as an occupation force.



**Makes Proposal on Interim Government***AB3008132290 Paris AFP in English 1313 GMT  
30 Aug 90*

[Text] Abidjan, 30 Aug (AFP)—Prince Johnson, leader of the rebel Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), has proposed a council of elders and chiefs to form an interim government to end eight months of civil war, the GHANA NEWS AGENCY reported in a dispatch monitored here.

An INPFL delegation is in Banjul, Gambia, where a conference organized by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was set to name an interim government for Liberia.

Mr. Johnson told journalists at his base near the Monrovia port that the council would promote national unity before elections for a leader to replace President Samuel Doe, who remains holed up in the Executive Mansion with about 500 loyal troops.

The rebel leader, who split with Charles Taylor's original NPFL earlier this year, said no existing political party candidate should be allowed to stand in elections because "they are all criminals."

He said all former political parties "should be proscribed and new ones formed not on tribal lines, but on predetermined principles.

Mr. Johnson, who calls himself a field marshal, said he founded his revolution on the principles of equality and justice and "would not mind to take charge of the military."

He said people who have committed atrocities since the rebellion was launched December 24 should be detained "to prevent revenge from the families of their victims."

The INPFL leader charged that Mr. Taylor personally killed his parents, his daughter and his uncle and therefore there was "no way such a man can rule Liberia."

A former lieutenant in the Liberian Army, Mr. Johnson joined a failed coup plot led by former Army commander Thomas Quiwonkpa in 1985 and went into exile in Libya, Cuba and Burkina Faso, where he allegedly trained with Mr. Taylor before launching their attack, the agency said.

He claims to have 6,000 men, but independent sources put the number at 1,000.

In Banjul, conference sources said the names most often mentioned as head of a provisional government—who will not be able to run for election—include Amos Sawyer, who in 1984 headed the committee that drafted the present constitution; Jackson Doe, who lost the last elections to Samuel Doe (no relation); Bacchus Matthews, a former foreign minister, and George Toe Washington, a former Army chief of staff and ambassador to Washington.

**Speaks With Reporters***AB3108140290 Accra Domestic Service in English 1300  
GMT 31 Aug 90*

[Text] Newsmen attached to Ghana's contingent of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peacekeeping force in Monrovia have visited the headquarters of one of the rebel leaders, Prince Johnson, in the Liberian capital. The visit is the first ever granted to any group of journalists since Johnson broke away from Charles Taylor's faction in the course of the conflict. This telexed report is from our reporter in Monrovia, Cyril Acolatse:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Reporters from four Ghanaian press houses attached to the ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group] force were driven to Prince Johnson's base by armed escort. They received salutations from armed soldiers posted at vantage points. Apart from the heavy military presence, the base looked generally calm, and could easily be taken for a holiday resort.

The newsmen were greeted on arrival by Prince Johnson's chief of staff who identified himself as General (Gborgbo Gogliwon). A few minutes later, Prince Johnson entered to meet the newsmen. He spoke of the atrocities of the eight-month old civil war, including the killing of his mother, father, and sister by Charles Taylor, leader of one of the rebel factions. Prince Johnson said he was really incensed by the massacre of innocent civilians by government forces. He said if he has decided to cooperate with government forces against Charles Taylor it is because he wants peace, and wants to heal the wounds caused by the civil war.

On the political future of Liberia, Prince Johnson ruled out any government by past politicians whom he described as crude and troublemaking. He suggested the formation of new political parties. He said in the meantime, an interim administration should be formed by chiefs to prepare Liberia for a democratically elected government.

Prince Johnson praised the bold decision of ECOWAS to save Liberians. He, however, criticized member countries of the community who are bent on prolonging the suffering of the people by assisting Charles Taylor to fight [the] ECOMOG peacekeeping force. [end recording]

**ECOMOG Commander Evacuating West Africans***AB3008184890 London BBC World Service  
in English 1709 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Because the Patriotic Front is rounding up West African civilians, the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] commander, General Quainoo, is busy organizing the evacuation of West African nationals who want to get

out. And he has been explaining in Monrovia how he is going about it. From Monrovia, a dispatch from the REUTER agency:

[Begin unidentified announcer recording] General Arnold Quainoo told reporters that more than 7,000 people, mostly from Nigeria, Ghana, and Guinea, had so far registered for evacuation. Quainoo said that the Ghanaian container ship, the TANO RIVER, will probably sail for Ghana on Friday [31 Aug] with more than 6,000 Ghanaians and Nigerians on board. Thousands of people milled around the entrance to Monrovia's port on Thursday, waiting to be allowed in to board the ship and by midday several hundreds had gathered on the key side with a variety of possessions. These range from make-shift cloth bundles to plush suitcases. One man had brought a deep freezer with him on a wheelbarrow. The voyage to Ghana is expected to take two days.

The ECOMOG peacekeeping force so far only deployed its forces in areas controlled by Prince Johnson's forces, who welcomed the arrival of the West African troops. Military sources meanwhile complained that President Doe, whose forces controlled only a few square miles of the city center, was trying to treat the peacekeeping force as an extension of his own army. One senior officer complained: He sends me messages as if we are a force under his command.

Western diplomats in Monrovia have so far praised the force for its discipline and strict neutrality. Quainoo said he was trying to limit his activities to maintaining law and order. The Ghanaian general defended the slow pace with which his force had moved to extend its control in Monrovia: We have enough guns to push Monrovia flat, but, he said, we want to go slowly, one step at a time, telling the people that we are here to keep the peace. [end recording]

#### ECOWAS Names for 'Diplomatic Offensive'

AB3008121890 Dakar PANA in English 1121 GMT  
30 Aug 90

[Text] Dakar, 30 Aug (PANA)—The foreign ministers of the Gambia, Nigeria and Togo will on Thursday [30 Aug] set out on a three nation diplomatic offensive within the sub-region in the continuing bid to find a solution to the Liberian crisis.

A Radio Gambia report Thursday said that Nigeria's Riiwanu Lukman, Togo's Yaovi Adodo and The Gambia's Omar Sey, will travel from Banjul to Senegal, Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire with a message to the presidents of the countries from Gambian President Dawda Jawara, chairman of both the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] authority and its standing mediation committee.

The radio said Sy would not say what the contents of the messages were but it is believed they concern the ECOWAS initiative on bringing the Liberian crisis to an end.

The initiative, in the form of a peace package that incorporates the deployment of a ceasefire monitoring force (ECOMOG) from a number of member states prior to the ushering in of an interim government and the holding of free and fair elections, has been rejected by main rebel leader Charles Taylor.

Burkina Faso President Blaise Compaore, a former ECOWAS chairman, has criticised the use of ECOWAS troops in Liberia. In a letter to the ECOWAS chairman, he observed that the standing committee went beyond its mandate when it decided to deploy ECOMOG troops in Liberia.

Cote d'Ivoire is one of Liberia's three neighbouring states affected by the large scale inflow of Liberian refugees. Gambian officials had previously told PANA that it is Cote d'Ivoire that the mediation committee has been making contacts with Taylor. [sentence as received]

Senegal has also said that Taylor's expressed opposition should have been taken into account adding that in future a decision of such serious importance like the sending of troops should be taken by all the heads of state together.

However, Senegalese foreign minister, Seydina Oumar Sy, told journalists that what is done is done. Senegal will not say more. Sy also said that the principle of non-interference in a country's internal affairs had been set aside in the name of sub-regional peace and the need to stop needless killings but that we shall leave the debate to lawyers.

Taylor is reported to be rounding up nationals of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Guinea and taking them behind lines under the control of his men. He has threatened to kill a national from these countries for every rebel soldier killed by ECOMOG forces, drawn from Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Guinea and The Gambia.

However, since the first clash between the two sides on Saturday, the ECOMOG forces are reported to be concentrating on consolidating their hold on the port area and on taking control of the city airport. They are also putting more emphasis on humanitarian work involving the burying of the dead and the restoration of electricity, water and medical services as well as the provision of food to the local population.

On Wednesday, the ECOMOG High Command issued an appeal to the UN, the EEC and the International Red Cross to help with supplies of food and medicine of which there is now an acute shortage because of the carnage which preceded ECOMOG's arrival in Monrovia.

Meantime, Mr. Abdoulie Diallo, the secretary general of the Mano River Union, of which Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea are members, has sent a message of support to Jawara for the ECOWAS initiative on Liberia. In the message, he said the union stands ready to make any contribution consistent with its accords and protocols to help bring peace to Liberia.

**ECOWAS Troops Reportedly Capture Airport***AB3108133890 Paris AFP in English 1329 GMT  
31 Aug 90*

[Text] Freetown, Aug 31 (AFP)—West African peacekeeping troops sent to war-torn Liberia a week ago have captured Monrovia's Spriggs Payne Airport and were poised to take over the Nigerian and Sierra Leone embassies, African diplomatic sources said here Friday [31 Aug].

The sources did not say when the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) troops reached the airport about four kilometers (2.5 miles) from where embattled President Samuel Doe is holed up in his Executive Mansion.

They disclosed however that the troops, who met some resistance by rebels of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) on Saturday, were expected to overrun the Nigerian and Sierra Leone embassies in the Sinkor district later Friday where hundreds of West African nationals are holding the Guinean ambassador and 42 Guineans hostage [as received] in the Liberian capital.

The rebels, who launched their bid to oust Mr. Doe last December in northeastern Nimba County, had been stopped by Liberian Government troops at the airport before the arrival of the peacekeeping troops. NPFL forces control most of the West African country except for the port and central Monrovia.

Meanwhile, the Nigerian naval ship NNS Ambe left Friday for Monrovia carrying 23 military vehicles, four tanks and a large quantity of arms and ammunitions for the ECOWAS peacekeeping force. It is the vessel's second trip in two weeks.

There were no troops abroad and there is no indication when the nearly 500 remaining soldiers from Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone who are still in Freetown will leave.

It took three hours to load the equipment at the port which was cordoned off by military personnel during the operation. Commandant Ambrose Oni said the Ambe will dock at the Monrovia port Saturday. Diplomatic sources said two ships are expected to leave Lagos Friday with food and drugs from Monrovia.

**'About 200' West Africans Killed by NPFL***AB3108151090 Dakar PANA in English 1439 GMT  
31 Aug 90*

[Text] Monrovia, 31 Aug. (GNA/PANA)—About 200 nationals whose countries are contributing to the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] Peace-Keeping Force for Liberia, ECOMOG, have been killed by the rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL], according to eye witnesses in Monrovia.

A Ghanaian teacher, Kwesi Kwateng, 36, told reporters that an unspecified number of Ghanaians were killed in the Barnesville estate, about six kilometers from the

Monrovia Free Port. He said more than 2,500 Ghanaians live there. Another Ghanaian, Kweku Egyir, 52, who has lived in Liberia since 1963 also said the Front's forces led by Charles Taylor, have been killing nationals of ECOMOG whom they identify by their accent and facial marks.

The marks on our faces are called identity cards in this country, Egyir said. He said atrocities were being committed especially against Ghanaians and Nigerians because Taylor's men say that ECOMOG soldiers of these nationalities are armed fighters and have been inflicting casualties on the rebels.

Taylor has vehemently opposed the deployment of the ECOMOG force drawn from Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. He has snubbed all peace talks and declared himself president. Taylor has also rounded up nationals of countries forming ECOMOG and is holding them hostage.

Meanwhile, several thousand Ghanaians have thronged the Monrovia Free Port to board the state shipping line vessel, MV Tano River, which is expected to sail Friday for Accra with refugees. The refugees, mainly fishermen and fish mongers, started arriving as early as 0640 GMT Thursday with their scanty belongings to escape the carnage in Liberia.

They looked feeble and carried their belongings with difficulty. The old and infirmed were pushed to the port in wheelbarrows. Even before the ship completed off-loading its cargo of ECOMOG supplies, the refugees thronged the gangway in their anxiety to board.

Some well-to-do Ghanaians drove a fleet of 15 cars to the port to be shipped home. They expressed their gratitude to the Government of Ghana for sending the ship to evacuate them.

**Mali****Iraqi Minister Meets Traore, Comments on Crisis***AB3008221990 Bamako Domestic Service in French  
2000 GMT 30 Aug 90*

[Text] Today President Moussa Traore, the head of state, received Iraqi Higher Education Minister Mundhir Ibrahim al-Shawi, who brought him a message from President Saddam Husayn. The Iraqi minister took this opportunity to brief General Moussa Traore on Iraq's initiatives to solve all the problems of the Middle East.

For his part, General Moussa Traore charged the minister with conveying his fraternal and friendly greetings to President Saddam Husayn. The head of state stressed the need to, first of all, settle all the problems within the Arab community, because such a settlement might pave the way for a general solution to the other problems confronting the region. He stressed the availability of Mali to strive within the Islamic community for a peaceful solution to these problems in the Gulf Region.



Let us listen to the Iraqi minister talking to reporter Sidiki Konate after his meeting with the president:

[Begin recording] [Al-Shawi] We held a very useful, friendly, and fraternal conversation, and we discussed all the problems confronting the region as well the Muslim world. I listened very attentively to the wise suggestions and ideas of the Malian head of state, and I will convey all that he said—his friendly words and suggestions full of wisdom and sincerity, indeed—to my president, Saddam Husayn, and his government.

[Konate] Are there any developments in the situation in the region itself? It is known that a few days ago, Kuwait allegedly became the 19th governate of Iraq. Do you now envisage any solutions to avoid clashes there?

[Al-Shawi] As you know, Iraq is always for peace, Iraq has never been for war, and believes, as I told the Malian head of state, that the entire problem can be settled among Arabs and within an Arab-Muslim framework. This will be possible when reason, goodwill, and wisdom prevail, and we have embarked on this path—I sincerely hope—for peace, friendship, and justice among all the people. I am optimistic. [end recording]

## Nigeria

### Chief of General Staff Named Vice President

AB3008152590 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1500 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] A vice president of the country has been named. He is Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, who was the chief of General Staff. His appointment was one of the decisions reached at yesterday's meeting of the Armed Forces Ruling Council [AFRC].

As a vice president, Vice Admiral Aikhomu remains a member of the AFRC. He will, in accordance with the 1989 constitution, exercise presidential function as chairman of the National Boundary Commission and the National Economic Council. The vice president will also serve as deputy chairman of the National Council of State and National Security Council.

In addition, he will exercise powers in respect of coordination and supervision of state administration and non-ministerial (?duties) as assigned to him by the president.

### AFRC Names New Foreign, Defense Ministers

AB3008161390 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1500 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] The Ministry of Defense has been reorganized. Under the new arrangement, Lieutenant General Sanni Abacha becomes the minister of defense and chief of Defense Staff. Major General Salihu Ibrahim takes over as the new chief of Army Staff. He was, before his appointment, the general officer commanding 82 Division of Nigerian Army, Enugu. A communique issued after yesterday's meeting of the Armed Forces Ruling

Council [AFRC] said that other changes in the command structure will be made in due course by the minister of defense.

The communique also announced the appointment of nine new ministers. They include Lieutenant General Sanni Abacha, chief of Defense Staff, as minister of defense; Dr. Shetima Mustapha, minister of agriculture and natural resources; Major General Ike Nwachukwu, minister of external affairs; Chief Alex Akinyele, minister of information; Major General A.B. Mamman, minister of internal affairs.

Others are: Major General Y.Y. Kure, minister of culture and social welfare; Ambassador Zakari Ibrahim, minister of state, external affairs; Alhaji Abubakar Hashidu, minister of water resources; and Alhaji Sumaila Gwarzo, minister of state, police affairs.

Some ministers were redeployed. They are Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, who moves from the Ministry of Budget and Planning to the Finance Ministry; Navy Commodore Lamba Gwon leaves the Internal Affairs Ministry to that of Transport; while the former minister of cabinet affairs, Dr. Chu Okongwu, now takes charge of budget and planning. Alhaji Bunu Sheriff Musa also moves from Water Resources Ministry to that of Employment, Labor and Productivity.

Twelve ministers retained their portfolios. They include Mr. Tonye Graham-Douglas, aviation; Engineer A.O. Ige, communications; Professor Aliyu Fafunwa, education; Major General M. Nasco, federal capital territory; Professor Olikoye Ransome-Kuti, health; Air Vice Marshal Mohammed Yahaya, industries.

Others are Air Vice Marshal Nuranu Iman, mines, power and steel; Professor Jubril Aminu, petroleum; [words indistinct] Major General Maman Kontagora, works and housing; and Mr. Anthony Ikazobor, youth and sports.

### Radio Views Outcome of Cabinet Reshuffle

AB3008163290 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1500 GMT 30 Aug 90

[From the "Correspondent's Reports" program]

[Text] As you may have heard in the news, major changes, cutting across the military command structure to the state administrations, were announced today. It was the outcome of yesterday's meeting of the Armed Forces Ruling Council. State House correspondent Reginald Okochie has the rest of the story:

[Begin Okochie recording] Today's announcement puts to rest speculations about who was going to be appointed (?first). The rumor mills had been active since early this month, when President Ibrahim Babangida hinted that there were going to be changes. A major significance in the new appointments is that the president himself has relinquished the defense portfolio, which he took over in

December last year. The former chief of Army Staff, Lieutenant General Sani Abacha, now takes charge of the Defense Ministry.

The changes also reflect the policies of the present administration to involve women in the mainstream of national development. For the first time in the political history of Nigeria, two women were elevated to the position of deputy governors. They are Mrs L.N. Okulu for Lagos State, and Mrs Pamela Fadaiki for Kaduna State. That will be cheering news for Nigerian women, who have been campaigning for greater integration into decision processes in government.

The appointment of the vice president is also an innovation in military administrations in the country. Contrary to speculations that a civilian was going to be appointed to that office, the former chief of General Staff, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, was moved into the position. He retained his seat as a member of the Armed Forces Ruling Council. With the redeployment of Major General Salihu Ibrahim and Ike Nwachukwu, it is expected that new general officers will soon be appointed to command the 1 Mechanized Infantry Division, (?Kaduna), and the 82 Division in Enugu. [end recording]

#### **Government Warns on South Africa Sports Contacts**

AB3008180990 Dakar PANA in English 1523 GMT  
29 Aug 90

[Text] Lagos, 29 Aug. (NAN/PANA)—The Nigerian Government has warned all sporting bodies, teams, clubs or individuals in the country against engaging in sporting activities with South Africa until apartheid is dismantled.

In a circular issued Tuesday [28 Aug] in Lagos, the government said that the warning was in keeping with the "leading and active role which Nigeria played in the drafting of the international convention against apartheid in sports."

The convention provides an important instrument for the isolation of racist South Africa from international sports, and all signatory countries are duty bound to enforce it.

Any contravention of the provisions of the circular, the government said, would attract penalties including forfeiture of government's financial and moral support, as well as barring those found guilty from the use of sports facilities owned by government. Other penalties are disqualification from the award of national honours and a ban from representing Nigeria in any international sports meet.

To ensure strict compliance with the provisions of the circular, the government has set up a committee to monitor any violation by sporting organisations, clubs, teams or individuals.

"All Nigerian diplomatic missions abroad are enjoined to monitor the activities of Nigerian citizens in their host countries and report cases of violation to the Ministry of Youth and Sports for appropriate action," the government said.

### **Senegal**

#### **\* PIT Refuses Role in Municipal Elections**

90AF0514B Dakar SUD HEBDO in French  
5 Jul 90 p 3

[Article by Bonaventure Assogba: "First Stage in the Municipal Elections: Reform of the Electoral Code"]

[Text] The municipal elections are expected to be held in November. As of now a number of persons active on the political scene are expressing their views on these elections.

During the second plenary session of its Central Committee, held on 16-17 June, the Party for Independence and Labor (PIT) declared that it would not participate in the municipal elections. As long as the electoral code is not changed and it is not stripped of its fraudulent and landholding requirements, the PIT will not participate in the forthcoming municipal and rural elections. Furthermore, the PIT calls on "the other opposition parties to make a change in the antidemocratic provisions of the electoral code an essential part of their decision to participate in the next municipal and rural elections."

Elsewhere, the PIT has called for the adoption of "the principle of proportional division of seats in the municipal and rural councils and payment by the state of all electoral expenses under the same arrangements as those applying to the presidential and National Assembly elections."

Asked about this question, Ousmane Ngom, an attorney who is president of the parliamentary faction of the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party], recalled the position of Attorney Abdoulaye Wade, who raised the reform of the electoral code as a prior requirement for any participation in these elections. The PDS leader said: "The electoral code must be changed on at least six points. These involve, in particular, 'equal access to the state media for all opposition parties during the elections campaign; the honest distribution of voters' cards, the designation of neutral chairpersons for the polling booths; a secret ballot; and the inclusion of opposition observers in the polling committees and in the committees counting the votes.'"

Abdoulaye Bathily, secretary of the LD/MPT [Democratic League/Movement for the Labor Party], considers the present electoral code antidemocratic. According to him, this code cannot result in any free and open election. The provisions of the electoral law are so strict that there is not even proportional representation in the municipal and rural elections. He said: "With 50 percent of the vote a single candidate takes all of the seats,

eliminating in that way those who obtain 49 percent of the vote. That practice does not exist in any other democracy."

The question of electoral expenditures, which could rise to as much as 30 million CFA [African Financial Community] francs; the procedure for the identification of voters; and the participation of members of the opposition in the counting of the ballots are prior conditions for any participation in the municipal elections. However, Bathily declared that the way in which members of the LD/MPT take part in the election, or not, will be made explicit at the proper time.

In the view of Mamadou Diop Decroix of AND-JEF MRDN [AND-JEF Revolutionary Movement for a New Democracy], the problem of the municipal and rural elections is not a matter of boycott or abstention. He said: "The electoral code is an old question, in our view." He asked: "Have you seen what happened at the time of the election of local leaders of the Socialist Party [PS], where knives and firearms were brought out and where violence even caused the death of one person? Do you think that the Socialist Party, which is incapable of holding democratic elections within its own organization can do this outside its party structure? The municipalities are a strong point for confrontation with the PS."

In the view of AJ/MRDN, the municipal and rural elections of November 1990 are not a fundamental question. The real question is the struggle over getting Abdou Diouf out of the government.

Other political groups are preparing for the elections. The Group of 9 (which includes the majority of the opposition parties) is developing a common position. The opposition parties not belonging to this coalition are also mobilizing. The PDS/R [Senegalese Democratic Party/Reformed] under Serigne Diop will make its current position known in August.

#### \* Response to Casamance Movement Criticized

##### \* PS 'Stirred Up' Separatists

90AF0513A Dakar SUD HEBDO in French  
28 Jun 90 p8

[Text] Originally part of an ordinary demonstration (a march that took place on 26 December 1982), the Casamance crisis, which is still ignored by the government, continues to deepen over the years. No action likely to restore real peace can be seen on the horizon. Even worse, the military option, with its corollary of the arrest of true and false separatists and of all kinds of activists only sharpens this irredentist movement, as it is true that the "knife can do so little against the spirit." Certainly, separatism as such is no solution. (The PIT [Party for Independence and Labor] has said this.) In the case of Casamance this is an "obsolete" idea, as leaders of the opposition in Ziguinchor have said. However, they add that "they are no less convinced" that this problem, which is not exactly a new one, is far from being as

complicated to solve as an equation in several unknowns. It has political, economic, cultural, and social roots. Hence, in the name of the imperative of national unity, it is important to diagnose this crisis objectively, to find a political solution that will guarantee that unity and the interests of the people by the intelligent handling of special, local characteristics. Such an effort calls for the help of all of the sons and daughters of the nation, in the framework of a broad, cooperative effort that would imply the inclusion, in the first place, of representatives of Casamance.

However, how did we reach this regrettable and persistent situation? There are the causes usually mentioned, that is, the geographical situation; the marginalization of this region, despite its immense potential, assignment to which is considered a prison sentence for government officials being punished; the cultural scorn reportedly heaped on the people of the area; and the blunders of an administration which, unlike the French colonialists, ignores the sociological realities of the people. In addition, there is the responsibility of the Socialist Party [PS], which is not always mentioned. The Socialist Party is the means by which the crisis has come to public attention.

In effect, the question of regionalism has been used in a destructive way by settling accounts between factions within the PS, either to attack opposition political groups or individuals. For example, at the time of the elections campaign of 1983 a PS leader, at a meeting held in Place de Gao, attacked leaders of the opposition, accusing them of not being from Casamance. However, more recently, at the time of the campaign for new memberships and the issuance of party cards within the PS, leaders of the "B" faction (Abdoulaye Sy and Doudou Cisse) based their speeches on the ethnic theme, going so far as to appeal for the mobilization of this ethnic group against another, which was said to be seeking hegemony while still only a pretentious minority.

Since this crisis broke out, the weapons of delay and denunciation have been systematically used by the PS to fight against a political adversary or an intractable supporter of the opposition. However, as we may recall, the straw that broke the camel's back was the land distribution of 1980, in the course of which the then municipal government systematically plundered their land (without paying for it). Certain individuals, such as Ansoumana Bodian, had as an intermediary between the separatists and Jean Collin the man who had negotiated with Collin. In a largely agricultural society the plundering of land can only cause a violent reaction on the part of the people.

The most recent case involves the third stage in the division of land in the seaside resort area of Cap Skirring. The division of the land was arranged and made behind the scenes, without the knowledge of the rural community of Diembereng. All of the residents of the community were strongly opposed to settlement there by



those who had received allotments of land. The distribution of land was finally declared null and void by the government.

In the area itself, everything appears to be calm, even though arrests are continuing, while at the same time the local people are becoming increasingly aware of the situation. In this connection we have learned of the death of Assoua Diabone after his arrest. On 27 June the Army continued to search (day and night) the houses in the residential area of the young people's home run by nuns.

Finally, the governor of the region has just broadcast over Radio Ziguinchor a statement asking all of those who lost a relative during the incidents that have taken place since 1982 to inform the government of what happened by filling out a form. Concerning the local PS elections, Robert Sagna won in the commune of Ziguinchor and Vincent Mendy won in the department.

#### \* PS 'Inaccuracies' Noted

90AF0513B Dakar WAL FADJRI in French  
22-28 Jun 90 p 3

[Editorial by Abdou Sow: 'Coherence']

[Text] One cannot, at the same time, say and not say the same thing, in the same circumstances, about the same individual. Respect for this elementary principle of logic makes it possible to avoid the contradictions that undermine a chain of reasoning or make certain kinds of behavior incoherent. You cannot deny and assert at the same time the credibility of Amnesty International only on the basis that its reports do harm when they concern Senegal or when they confirm our accusations about Mauritania.

The report of the humanitarian organization on torture in Casamance has been totally rejected, and the credibility of Amnesty International has been questioned by the Senegalese Government, first in the National Assembly and then by means of a government statement. These denials have been broadly echoed in the official media, the same organs that quoted with conviction, on the day following its publication, another report from the same organization. This other report was considered to be irrefutable evidence for the single reason that this time it concerned Mauritania, which is currently engaged in a conflict with Senegal. Moreover, since the beginning of this crisis the government press has given prominent attention to the London-based organization's publications critical of the deliberately planned and implacably implemented acts of genocide against blacks carried out by the authorities in Nouakchott [Mauritania].

Neither was the interview on national television given by the new governor of Ziguinchor allowed to throw any light on this matter of torture. On the contrary, the thought processes of General Dieng frightened people much more than they could have strengthened the cause, which he sought to defend. The governor was indignant about the accusations made by Amnesty International against the Senegalese Gendarmerie. He said that

Amnesty remained silent when members of the security forces were massacred and horribly mutilated by separatists. The question dealt with whether accusations of torture of alleged separatists made by Amnesty against the Senegalese security forces were well founded.

These indications of incoherence show to what extent Senegal has become a place where unsustainable contradictions are held, which would make any student of logic lose his or her syllogism. Statements made, however little political bearing they may have, are no longer embarrassed by any concern for accuracy. For example, the accusations of fraud regularly made against the government after each election campaign are as regularly refuted by the government, which sees in these accusations the simple bad faith of its opponents, who are described as bad losers. The latter are also accused of being responsible, at least in part, for the disturbances that break out following each one of their meetings. And then look at what happens when local elections are held within the government party. The stakes are such that no one thinks of being careful to hide certain practices that the government has always denied being responsible for.

Despite the presence of observers specially appointed for this purpose by the Socialist Party and the use of a computer, the frauds committed in these local elections are clear. The sale of party membership cards is like the withdrawal of voters cards at the time of the last presidential and National Assembly elections. Accusations of fraud are now spreading to all places where party factions are fighting for the control of a coordinating office and winning or keeping control of a municipality. What is worse, violence often occurs. Attacks have taken place in Rufisque, while in Kaolack the police had to intervene with their nightsticks and teargas grenades to calm down the enthusiasm of party members. Therefore, it should not be so easy to deny that fraud and violence are deeply anchored in Senegalese political traditions, particularly those of the Socialist Party.

This tendency of not telling the truth creates conditions for the emergence of anarchy, fraud, and violence. Even though political speeches are only very rarely a model of sincerity, care can be taken to maintain a certain amount of coherence, not only formally but also by comparison with the experience of the people and with reality. However, the generalized demagoguery in Senegal, as well as a certain concern by the authorities to assert their control over the situation in the country, lead to statements that only isolate them from broad segments of society. Students no longer even try to believe in beautiful words about a possible future. The impossible debate going on between the government and the opposition is explained in part by suspicion and scepticism on both sides. The workers fraudulently dismissed from the civil service are added to the mass of all those who will cease to believe in the sincerity of certain promises.

In fact, separatism in Casamance is an extreme—and indefensible—example of a series of mistakes caused by the gap between statements made by the government and

its own practices. No one believes any longer in the statement: "The government says what it does and does what it says." Now, national cohesion is essentially based on confidence between the different actors on the public scene. Confidence is the cement holding the nation together, and when it cracks, it leaves at the same time broad groups of society trying to find individual or group solutions to their problems, because the framework of society has shattered.

By inviting the opposition to work with the government and his own party the minister of the interior, who would like to appear conciliatory, proposed during the last session of Parliament to find ways to drive the vandals "out of the democratic camp." This is surely not the best thing to do, particularly if you think of the powerful resources that might be used. It is rather a matter of seeing how to provide a place for all of those people who take advantage of every occasion to smash things up. However, as long as statements made by the government are in contradiction to the facts, there will always be those prepared to defy law and order. This will be very much to the disadvantage of the immense majority of the Senegalese people, who only wish to live in peace in a country that is not threatened by separatism or vandalism.

#### \* PS, PDS Talks on Casamance Positive Sign

90AF0513C Dakar WAL FADJRI in French  
22-28 Jun 90 p 3

[Article by Abdourahmane Camara: "When Parallel Lines Meet"; first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] There are deputies in the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] who do not wish to become involved in political recovery. Facing them are colleagues of theirs in the PS [Socialist Party] who do not hesitate to criticize the government sharply. In the center is a parliamentary committee made up of members of the two parties to deal with the problem of Casamance. Are we moving toward a broader consensus?

They were thought to be implacable enemies, and the comments they exchange in the National Assembly often go beyond the framework of courtesy. However, there it is. The last parliamentary session provided an occasion for unaccustomed contacts between deputies of the PS and of the PDS. To such an extent that an observer often asked himself, during the plenary session, which of these members of Parliament supported the majority and which one supported the opposition.

In the PS speeches are considered more important because certainly, as Pascal Manga stated at the Ministry of Defense, "we are annoyed" with members who do not always support the policies of the government. Similarly in the PDS, while the tone has not been as decisive, it has remained critical. That is all. For example, in the "Josza Affair," named after the young Canadian who murdered Arsene Diatta and fled from Senegal, the parliamentary opposition limited itself to stating the facts at a plenary session, without trying to fix responsibility, or to demand the establishment of a commission of inquiry,

although the victim was one of its members. Dr. Ousmane Ngom explained: "We did not wish to exploit this matter or to get something out of it politically." That is also unusual with the PDS, which has always made the most of every opportunity.

Therefore, it was in this quite special atmosphere of reservations and a kind of complicity that a meeting between PS and PDS deputies from the Casamance region was held on 15 June. This meeting, organized by Marcel Bassene (PDS) and Pascal Manga (PS), had something positive about it, which will make it possible for both sides to reduce their political sensitivities and to look for joint solutions for the problem of Casamance irredentism. Above all, on the part of the PDS deputies, that meant a notable change from flat out to constructive opposition, while their colleagues in the PS to some extent have abandoned that air of coolness that they have shown toward everything involving their opponents.

Only a few days ago, who would have believed that members of Parliament from the PS and from the PDS would agree to try to influence decisions by the government concerning Casamance? Even more so, who would have believed that on 22 June they would appear before the governor of the Ziguinchor area to express their points of view in the presence of prefects and subprefects from the area? Especially since PS and PDS deputies born in the area would then travel through green Casamance to hold jointly, but sometimes separately, information and working meetings. And that is not all. For after the contacts made on 15 June the proposal to develop a framework of cooperation on the Casamance question was approved, and the structuring of this movement took form immediately thereafter in the shape of a parliamentary committee composed of five PS and 3 PDS deputies.

Marcel Bassene, a member of Parliament, said: "It is necessary to prevent the situation from bogging down. We are aware that the government has adopted the tactic of repression. And as we know the dangers inherent in this kind of policy, today we want to protect the people while we make our weight felt on the decisions to be reached. In effect, we are representatives of the people, and as such what should be our mission when the Casamance region is stained by fire and blood? There is the direction of our initiative." However, these explanations by Deputy Marcel Bassene will be slightly watered down by Dr. Ousmane Ngom, the president of his parliamentary faction, who has corrected it somewhat. That is, that the contacts made by parliamentarians of the two groups, as well as the cooperation that is developing, will not commit his party, which "has taken note of the meeting and recalled the desire of the deputies to see the government commit itself to the search for a political solution. Nothing more." In other words the PDS deputies engaged in this new dynamic of cooperation are only speaking for themselves and for no one else. Even though nothing is done to discourage them.

In any case this search for an agreed solution for the situation in Casamance is beginning to disturb the opponents of the PDS and is even astonishing party members for whom the behavior of their deputies is so unusual that it is becoming questionable. However, the latter are not asking themselves about the worsening of the situation in Casamance, which has reached such a point that the government is attacking supposed separatists more and more. And tomorrow—who knows? As the region is becoming a military area in fact, the situation could create victims in the ranks of the legal opposition in the name of the fight against separatism. It is in consideration of all of these factors that Marcel Bassene says that he has extended the olive branch to PS members of Parliament who are bogged down in their factional fighting.

On the PS side they are happy to emphasize with Louis Dacosta "the very patriotic character of this gesture by deputies born in the region, all of whose sensitivities are confused." Or to respond to the wish that everyone has of setting up a plan of specific action, particularly as the deputies present at the meeting on 15 June "condemned separatism and acts of violence," which have taken place in the Ziguinchor area. It was necessary to do something immediately and right away because, as Dacosta said, the separatists have "shown guts in what they have done."

To explain the olive branch extended by his colleagues in the PDS, Marcel Bassene said that they "have seen that this was not a matter for the government, nor for the Casamance area alone. Rather, it is a national matter." He concluded: "We think that we can go so far in collaboration on this question because we feel that they (Editor's note: the PDS deputies) have shown good faith. In effect, they are the ones who asked us to contact the separatists and to travel to Guinea-Bissau and Gambia. They are the ones who proposed giving a formal structure to the movement," which grew from the discussions held on 15 June.

Has the first step been taken in the search for joint solutions to the problems of Senegal? Perhaps so, the PS deputies will tell you, while in the PDS the response is unchanging: "No hasty conclusions. We have not changed our positions."

**\* Separatist Terror 'Alienates' Casamance Natives**  
90AF0513D Dakar WAL FADJRI in French  
22-28 Jun 90 p 5

[Article: "The Price of Terror"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The tacit support or the indifference of the people that provided the force behind the Casamance separatists is no longer fashionable. The blind killings have created as much fear as they have revolted the people of Ziguinchor, not taking into account the pressure of the military authorities.

The mask is off. The attacks, which continue to bathe the Casamance region in blood, from now on will carry the explicit signature of the Democratic Front of Casamance. This is a movement calling for the independence of the area. The arrests made during the last few days and the searches carried out in the homes of suspects have made it possible to clarify the confusion, which existed until then. However, people are still asking why the rebel movement, which has such an interest in keeping the sympathy that it enjoys among the people, has turned to a form of urban terrorism, killing indiscriminately and seriously staining its reputation.

In effect, even if the "Northerners" are the specific targets (such as the teachers in Lati and Niadiou, the people in Place de Gao, and the mourids [religious teachers] in Bignona), the fact remains that at least half of the people killed up to now are natives of Casamance. They are principally of the Diola ethnic group, to which the separatists belong. Even worse, the attack in the center of Place de Gao cost the life of Landing Diedhiou, one of the best known figures in the Bignona area.

It is to exploit this opening created by the separatists against themselves that the military authorities in the region have called together all organized groups to ask them to swear an oath of allegiance and to call on them to denounce the "troublemakers." This tactic has apparently succeeded, since, faced with the fear of death, which is no longer in doubt, many tongues have been loosened.

Practically all of the arrests (an unimaginable development some time ago), including that of Abbe Diamacoune Senghor, were based on information provided to the authorities. Certainly, there have been denunciations, but force has also been used. In any case the Casamance Democratic Front has just lost the war for public opinion, even though the attacks continue. The latest attack took place on 19 June in Boutout and resulted in nine casualties: six civilians were seriously hurt, and three policemen were slightly wounded.

Even though the methods adopted by the military authorities seem to be effective, some questions remain troublesome. They involve the real or supposed complicity that the rebels always have among village people. Also, the attackers always succeed in getting away into the countryside, however quickly security sweeps are carried out. Therefore, what is the value of the promises made by the village chiefs to the governor?

The fact also remains that the rebels, despite the numerous seizures of weapons, which have been made, still seem to have enough resources to continue the struggle. These weapons do not originate in Senegal. A foreign supply network therefore remains more credible, even though Governor Abdoulaye Dieng has rejected this suggestion already made by the highest authorities.

Nevertheless, in the face of many uncertainties the people of Ziguinchor are trying to live normally. The presence of the security forces in the streets, rifles in hand, and the controls on entry as well as departures



from the city have helped to give a certain amount of confidence to the people. But how long will this last? For the rebels, in a leaflet that was distributed at the time of their latest attack, have rejected the appeal for a dialogue, which was made to them. Threats have also been made against those who agree to collaborate with the security forces.

### Sierra Leone

#### President Momoh Pledges Press Freedom

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in English 2000 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Following the decisions adopted by the extraordinary meeting of the APC [All Peoples Congress] Central Committee on political reforms, the editor of the NEW SHAFT newspaper, Mr. Franklyn Bunting-Davies, today called on President Momoh to pledge his loyalty and support for him and his government.

He described the president's speech at the conference as brilliant and patriotic. Addressing the president as a brother, father, and friend, Mr. Bunting-Davies assured they had neither lost confidence in him nor given up hope, but were rather worried that a delay in making changes would render them obsolete because the rest of the world could not afford to wait for Sierra Leone's departure.

He recalled that when Dr. Momoh assumed office as president, he did not promise anyone that he would singularly ease this nation from its problems. Rather, he continually called on every citizen to join him in building a better Sierra Leone. The press, Mr. Bunting-Davies asserted, had a big role to play socially, sometimes lively or even angrily, to inform the head of state that the workers that he engaged in the task of national ploughing were slowing down the progress. He said he was confident that by the president's strategy of permitting these ("flurries"), he was in effect telling the nation to wait for the appropriate time for action. He maintained that by evolution, President Momoh has proved his wisdom and maturity, thereby opening the road for everyone to serve this nation.

Commenting on the strength of the changes, Mr. Bunting-Davies said that consequent upon them, parliament is no

longer meant for a few, as tribalism has lost [word indistinct] in our society, where the president is now the symbol of unity. Mr. Bunting-Davies stressed that with the enforcement of accountability, the rejection of tribalism, and upholding the freedom of the press, among others, the country should be well on its way to a multiparty democracy. He [word indistinct] the president that during the course of their work as journalists, like all [word indistinct] they should be forgiven because their mistakes were not of the heart but of the mind.

In his remark, President Momoh described Mr. Bunting-Davies' address as beautiful, bearing in mind that prior to this, he had adopted a stand which seemed very controversial, especially on the issue of multipartyism in Sierra Leone. President Momoh observed that while some of his writings were true, others were not. But because of the tolerance of his administration, he was allowed to carry on.

He was however satisfied that both Mr. Bunting-Davies and himself had used different stands to reach a meeting point. President Momoh stressed that while it is the responsibility of every Sierra Leonean to help make this country a better place, in doing so, they must not resort to acrimony. He also spoke of the positive decision which he adopted at the recent Central Committee meeting and promised that every word agreed upon at that meeting will be fully implemented.

Dr. Momoh disclosed that the starting point will be a review of the constitution and promised that it will be done in a democratic manner to enable every interest group make its input, reflecting the views of the people. Our desire is to produce a document that will stand the test of time, he said. President Momoh assured journalists that the freedom of the press will remain unfettered, but warned that journalists must fulfil their own side of the bargain by practicable, responsible journalism, devoid of sensationalism and dramatization.

The head of state also declared the APC's readiness for a multiparty system of government, but cautioned that since past experience of multiparty politics in this country has shrouded the whole concept with [word indistinct] and strife, it is the duty of government to ensure that it is attained with peace.

The editor of the GLOBE newspaper, Mr. Sarba Sam-tour, and the columnist in the NEW CITIZEN newspaper, Mr. Frank Forsowa, accompanied Mr. Bunting-Davies to State House.

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